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ARBITRATION OF INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

The idea of arbitration contemplates that parties who are unable to agree upon any point or points at issue between them shall submit the disputed point or points to the decision of a person or a tribunal mutually agreed upon. Conferences and negotiations between employers and employees, or intervention in the form of conciliation or mediation, are sometimes erroneously spoken of as arbitration. At times, some one person, in whom both have confidence, is selected as sole arbitrator, but the custom usually adopted in industrial circles is for each of the contestants to name one or more and if an umpire's services are necessary, or stipulated, have the ones thus chosen select such umpire.

It is believed by some who have given the subject much thought that unless an acceptable adjustment can be reached by a board consisting of an equal number of representatives from each side, and without an umpire, the conference had better fail. The disposition to charge disloyalty, or worse, to the representative who agrees with the other side, and the improbability of one who would do so being named by either side as a direct representative of its interests and contentions, would probably, in most cases, prevent arbitration, or at least render any definite adjustment through it impossible. If the idea that it is better to have a board equally chosen and no umpire is to be accepted, it clearly follows that both sides must select representatives or arbitrators who are entirely outside the sphere of influence of either of the contestants; men of undoubted judicial temperament and natures. The great difficulty which would then present itself would be the lack of practical or technical knowledge of the subjects in hand on part of the arbitrators. / It seems, therefore, that the plan of trying to agree without an umpire and of choosing an umpire if such an agreement cannot be reached promises the best results. The decision of the arbitrators is accepted in advance as final and binding. It necessarily follows that, in order for arbitration to be effective, the parties in controversy who so submit their differences shall

act in perfect good faith, both in presentation of their claims and in acceptance of the award.

In order that arbitrators may know exactly the points upon which they are to find an award, and that the disappointed party may have no opportunity to contend that there was lack of understanding, or, that if understandings had been different the award would have been in his favor instead of against him, it is desirable and proper that the submission shall stipulate clearly the point or points to be decided.

A tendency on both sides to permit sentiment to outweigh cold common sense has often blocked the way to satisfactory settlements. Insistence by the workers on some point of imaginary importance and unwillingness on the part of the employer to recognize the workers in their collective capacity have brought on serious conflicts in many cases which otherwise might easily have been settled by arbitration.

Some employers have seemingly undertaken to put their employees in a wrong light by insisting that their endorsement of the principle of arbitration committed them to the acceptance of a proposition to arbitrate "any points that may arise." Humanity possesses certain rights which have been emphatically declared to be inalienable and so, both employers and laborers and labor unions have principles which are not arbitrable. An employer would not arbitrate his right to manage his business and a labor union would not arbitrate the question of the right of its members to belong to the union or of the union to assist and represent its members.

Doubtless, in many cases, employers have refused arbitration because of their utter unwillingness to disclose facts with regard to their business which the arbitration would be likely to bring out and probably, in other instances, because they preferred that concessions should be granted through decision of arbitrators rather than by their voluntary act, have carried points to arbitration upon which they felt satisfied the decision would be against them.

Necessarily, the questions affecting only the employment of the individual or a group of individuals in a certain industry are simple as compared with the complex questions involved in the

conduct of the business of a large industry in a competitive field, and it is not improbable that these differences account in some measure for the fact that the workers are so much more ready to submit to arbitration than are the employers.) The problem of equitable wages and working conditions cannot be settled on the one basis of supply and demand as can the sale and purchase of produce or manufactures. The wage question involves a human equation which must not be ignored by those who would fairly and justly decide it. |

The benefits of arbitration to organized labor have been many and great. It would be impossible to undertake here a recital of the instances in which controversies between employers and employees have been submitted to arbitration and in which the contention of the employees has been upheld in whole or in a major part.¹ Such instances are innumerable and it may safely be said that in practically every instance where disputes over wages or hours or conditions of labor have been submitted to arbitration, the award has been, in its greater part at least, favorable to the employees.

These benefits come, in fact, to organized labor because where there are no labor organizations there is no arbitration of such disputes. The whole history of organization in the ranks of labor shows that practically every labor organization that has ever existed has, at some time in its history, and usually in its younger days, been bitterly opposed by the employers of those who form the union. It does not seem that it should be so but it is a fact that every one of the strongest and most influential of the labor unions of this day, including those that are pointed at now most frequently and with most pride as conservative and businesslike institutions, have, in their day and turn, been obliged to fight for recognition and the right to an unmolested existence.

Recognition of the union does not necessarily mean acceptance of the closed shop principle or any other principle as far reaching or similar in its effect. Recognition as here spoken of means recognition of the right of a union to negotiate through its chosen representatives with employers of its members regarding terms

¹Much detailed information as to arbitration in this and other countries is given in Vol. XVII of the report of the Industrial Commission of 1900. Some thirty different trades in America are reported on.

and conditions of employment for its members when it actually and fairly represents a clear majority of those for whom it seeks to legislate.

This principle has been recognized by the United States Congress in "An Act Concerning Carriers Engaged in Interstate Commerce and their Employees," approved June 1, 1898, which provides for arbitration between the organization or organizations representing the affected employees and the employing company and stipulates that the commissioner, whose duty it is to undertake to secure arbitration when conciliation and mediation have failed, shall decline to call a meeting of arbitrators under an agreement between the employing company and its employees individually instead of as represented by a labor organization "unless it be shown to his satisfaction that the employees signing the submission represent or include a majority of all employees in the service of the same employer and of the same grade and class and that an award pursuant to said submission can justly be regarded as binding upon all such employees."

The theory or principle of arbitration had its origin in a desire to find a more rational and civilized method of adjusting differences than by the exercise of physical strength in a strike or lockout, and it is a significant fact that the principle has had much more support and encouragement from working people than from employers. Thinking men in labor circles realize that labor unions have made many mistakes and are at all times liable to make mistakes. Disaster and suffering and loss have come through ill-advised strikes, and, realizing the possibility of error, but still convinced that their contentions are right, laboring men generally are found willing to submit such contentions to arbitration, believing that in so far as they are right they will be sustained, and preferring that if they are, in part or in whole, in error it should be demonstrated in a peaceable way rather than otherwise.

The spread of this sentiment among working people has had a strongly ennobling influence. It teaches more consideration for the rights of others; it inspires an inclination to study more carefully the ethics involved and tends to a more businesslike disposition. This is proven by the fact that the spirit of toleration, consideration and arbitration prevails more generally and in a

greater degree in the older and more experienced labor unions than in the new and inexperienced ones. The principle of arbitration involves elevating sentiments, and when entertained, is calculated to bring out the better elements of human nature. It is the essence of doing unto others that which we would have those others do unto us. It is an unadulterated desire to be, and to do, right and to uphold simple justice.

And so the benefits which arbitration have brought to organized labor have been perhaps as great in moral effect as in material and tangible advantages awarded by arbitrators. Organized labor must succeed; and it must succeed through adopting, following and upholding principles which are morally and economically right and sound. No extremist has ever held for long the confidences of the people generally. Extreme ideas and measures are not lasting either in themselves or in their effect. Extremists are not those who would naturally or probably be selected as arbitrators and hence, the more arbitration is indulged in, the wider will be the spread of the judicial spirit of perfect fairness which appeals to, and is admired by, nearly all mankind.

If arbitration had been subscribed to by the miners and mine owners in the Cripple Creek District in Colorado we would now find there a peaceful and contented community, in which employer and employee were doing well in the pursuit of their business and employment instead of the deplorable condition of anarchy which obtains. Excesses and arbitrary methods on part of one side have been rebelled against by those on the other side and, forgetting that tyranny is tyranny, that wrong is wrong, that defiance of law is defiance of law, that anarchy is anarchy just as much when perpetrated by one as by another, the members of the Citizens' Alliance, assisted by some State officials, have resorted to, and adopted, the same extreme, radical and arbitrary methods which they so strongly condemned in others. The Miners' Union said that none but those bearing the working cards of the union should work in the Portland Mine. The owners of the mine agreed to that plan and all was going smoothly when the Citizens' Alliance, assisted by the military, closed the mine and declared that no man should work therein unless he withdrew from the union and pre-

sented a card from the Citizen's Alliance. It is difficult to discover the difference in principle between the two.

The principle underlying arbitration is one of the great truths which are everlasting and the good influences of which are ever at work in a continually widening circle. The elevating and civilizing impulses which have their origin in the doctrine of arbitration will still continue to bring good to organized labor and to all mankind even if the happy time shall come when there are no disputes to be arbitrated.

A prominent and influential trades union incorporates in all of its working agreements with its employers a provision that any contention which may arise during the life of the agreement, with regard to matters covered by that agreement, shall be referred to a committee upon which the employers and the union have equal representation and which is authorized to make a final award. If the committee is unable to agree by a majority vote, the members of it select a disinterested person as umpire and the award is final and binding. The agreement also stipulates that pending such arbitration of differences there shall be no strike or lockout or suspension of work. The national secretary of that union, writing on this subject, says:

"Experience has taught us that the method of adjustment of disputes by adjustment committees has been of much good. The system has not only brought employer and employee together to discuss the points, but as a result of such meetings, a better feeling has been engendered and, in many cases, employers and workmen follow a more rational course than they otherwise might do because of the fact that their action might show them to be grievously in error when reviewed by such a tribunal. Apart from the good thus derived, it aids greatly in the settlement of any disputes to have workmen remain at their employment pending consideration of the grievance and decision on same, for, where men either go on strike before an effort of the kind is made at adjustment, or if employers lock them out without following the process set forth in these agreements, we find it much more difficult in nearly every case to satisfy the aggrieved party about the strike or lockout than it is to adjust the original grievance."

The national officer of another strong labor union says:

"On the matter of arbitration I wish to say that it is one of the principles of our Association, even embodied in our constitution, to encourage arbitration wherever possible, and in nearly all of our written agreements with the various

companies a clause providing for arbitration for settlement of disputes is embodied. Our Association has been very successful in the matter of arbitration. One of the influences of the arbitration clause in our agreements is to bring about satisfactory mediation between the companies and our locals and it is but seldom that questions are allowed to reach the arbitration stage. Apparently, the company and the employees rather distrust the outcome of arbitration and the provision stimulates conciliation and were the agreements not protected by the arbitration clause, I apprehend the questions at issue would not receive serious and candid consideration that they now receive from both parties. The results of arbitration, so far as our experience goes, are generally beneficial, although at times the disappointed party feels that the other has gained an advantage by the decision, but when the storm blows over and the field is surveyed, the results are very satisfactory and serious conflicts are aborted and generally avoided. The greatest number of our arbitration cases have grown out of serious contentions where no provision existed between the parties for such arbitration. For instance, there are but very few strikes that do not ultimately reach some form of arbitration and which are not so decided and even then the result is no better and possibly not so beneficial as it would have been had the issue been arbitrated previous to the strike."

That the railroad brotherhoods believe in the adoption of arbitration as a means of settling differences which are of an arbitrable nature is evidenced by the declarations of their international conventions on the subject; by their strong and active efforts to secure the enactment into law of the Federal statute hereinbefore referred to and by the numerous instances in which they have sought the good offices of arbitrators in practical ways. Their experiences with arbitration have been satisfactory and encouraging.

The National Founders Association, organized some three years since, now has 400 members, employing 30,000 men. Joint conference with representatives of the Iron Molders Union was sought for the purpose of laying the foundation for permanent peace in the industry. The conference agreed upon a plan of arbitration which was promptly ratified by both associations, and which provided that there should be no strike or lockout until after arbitration had failed to find an adjustment of the differences. This agreement has proven most satisfactory and the arbitration feature of it has been frequently called into operation with gratifying results. It has not served in every instance to avert friction but in general it has done so and has operated to draw the employers and the employees in that industry much closer together

in relations of business confidence, out of which still greater good must grow.

Recent expressions and acts on the part of some who are prominent in employers' associations justify the conclusion that human nature is human nature whether it be under overalls or white vest. The Secretary of the Chicago Manufacturers' Association is quoted recently as saying "Arbitration is a fraud of the rankest kind" and "It was stricken from the principles of the Association after a three months' trial." Such expressions are as intemperate, extreme and inconsistent as the utterances of the veriest blatherskite under the guise of a labor leader.

Guy Warfield, in the *World's Work* for March, discusses conditions among the anthracite coal miners of Pennsylvania since the filing of the award of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission. He sums up his conclusions as follows:

1. "The Board of Conciliation and Mediation has proved a greater advantage to the coal companies than to the miners.
2. "The nine hour day is no shorter or more profitable than the ten-hour day.
3. "The old difficulties which the arbitration board was supposed to have removed still exist.
4. "Even with the ten per cent. wage advance and the sliding scale, the average miner complains that he is no better off financially.
5. "Arbitration has not proved as successful as it was expected to be."

It is not worth while to discuss the statement that a nine-hour day is no shorter than a ten-hour day, or that workers are no better off after having received 12 or 15 per cent. wage advance.

What the Commission hoped for in the formation of the Board of Conciliation and the requirement that disputes be settled through and by it was that the coal operators and the coal miners, who had drawn as far apart as it was possible for employers and employees to get, would, through experience in this Board of Conciliation, come to realize the desirability and importance of adopting conciliatory methods and, if necessary, arbitration, in the settlement of disputes rather than the strike and lockout which have been so freely resorted to in the past. If the Board of Conciliation has proved a greater advantage to the companies than to the employees, no doubt it is because the contentions of the companies in the cases

that have been brought to the Board were possessed of more merit than were those of the opposing side. It was not to be expected that all the bitterness and suspicions that had been engendered through years of strife and warfare could be set aside within a few months, and it is yet too soon to say that the experiences of three years under the methods of conciliation and arbitration will not in the end bear the fruit that was hoped for by those who made the provision. The fact that this greatest of industrial struggles was submitted to arbitration was one of the highest triumphs of the principle and the most marked example of the final recognition of the rights of the affected public the world has ever seen. Benefits far in excess of those which would have been willingly accepted by the miners at an earlier stage came to them through the award of the Commission. A national calamity was averted and organized labor was lifted to a higher plane than it had before occupied.

Much has been said and written about compulsory arbitration. The term is paradoxical and self-contradictory. The true meaning of arbitration is a quality of perfect fairness under which the contestants are willing and prepared to act in good faith. There is no compulsion about it and when compulsion comes in, the true spirit of arbitration must necessarily depart. Volumes have been, and will be, written as to the advantages and disadvantages of compulsory arbitration in New Zealand, but even if it be admitted for argument's sake that the practice is generally satisfactory there, it by no means follows that it would be of advantage or that it would fit in at all in this country where conditions, ideas and ideals are so radically different from those in New Zealand. On the whole, compulsory arbitration may be said to have not been a shining success in the colonies where it has been tried. In free America it is a glittering impossibility. The paternalism which the system necessarily exercises dwarfs rather than develops individual character and initiative. It would not harmonize with the progressive ideas of the Western Hemisphere. In New South Wales, recently, two hundred miners refused to comply with the award of the State Arbitration Court and an attempt to punish them utterly failed. A recent award made by the New South Wales Arbitration Court stated that the award "contemplated"

a continuance of operation. It did not say that the employees should remain at work or that the operators should keep the industry going, but did say that while work continued it must be under the terms of the award.

Many of the States of the Union have provided State Boards of Mediation and Arbitration. In numerous instances such boards have succeeded through mediation in materially relieving strained situations and in some instances have averted serious conflicts. Their duty is to offer their services and not infrequently peace can be maintained through mediation of a third, disinterested party when neither of the contestants would suggest a middle ground upon which both could stand. The feeling seems to be that to suggest a compromise would be a sign of weakness. There has, however, never been much of a disposition to accept the State Boards as arbitrators. Standing boards of official arbitrators are not looked upon with favor, especially by the unionists.

There has been but little effort to give arbitrary or compulsory power to such State Boards. In 1899 the State of Kansas enacted a law for compulsory arbitration of disputes between railroad companies and their employees, which provided that the railroad might be placed in a receiver's hands if necessary to secure compliance with the act. This law was promptly declared unconstitutional and was never effective. A law, said to be a drastic measure, and providing for compulsory arbitration of labor disputes, is reported to have been passed in the closing hours of the last session of the Legislature of Maryland. Its operation and fate will be watched with interest.

Martin F. Murphy, writing for the *Glass Worker*, says:

"The industrial problems, so-called, can be adjusted in a large degree along the lines of least resistance and the line of least resistance, in my opinion, is voluntary arbitration." . . . "I conceive it to be the solemn duty, yea, the greatest duty of the men, who to-day happen to be in some degree the molders of thought on these profound questions, to spread the gospel of conciliation and arbitration, lest there come a crash between the economic forces in this land that will destroy the republic. I call upon those who are wage-payers to study their relations to their employees with a determination to get at the equities and uphold them. I warn some of you that you have many prejudices to bury and much wisdom to gain. I call upon those conspicuous

leaders of labor unions to beware of the temptations begotten by the arrogance of power."

Endorsing these expressions and with apologies to William Ellery Channing, and paraphrasing somewhat his forceful utterance, I would say: We should teach all labor leaders and managers of industries that there is no measure for which they must render so solemn an account to their constituents as for a declaration of industrial war; that no measure will be so freely, so fully discussed; that none of them can succeed in persuading the labor unionists or the stockholders to exhaust their prestige and their treasure and the comforts of their families in supporting industrial war unless it be palpably necessary and just.

If we were to eliminate confidence in the integrity of fellow man from business relations, our whole commercial structure would crumble to the ground. If we were to destroy belief in the honesty of judicial minds, all protection to property would disappear with the passing of the system of judiciary. If we place no reliance in the devotion to duty on part of those charged with conducting transportation by land and by water we would destroy the usefulness and effectiveness of our means of intercommunication. If we can—and we do—find plenty of men possessed of the necessary integrity, honesty of purpose, loyalty and devotion to insure the reliability and stability of our commercial, judiciary and transportation systems, surely there need be no great difficulty in finding those whose judgment and honesty can be confidently depended upon as arbitrators to fairly and intelligently decide industrial disputes.

The best conditions possible of attainment in our industrial world must come through a willingness on the part of both sides to give careful and proper recognition to the rights of their opponents, as well as to the rights of the large numbers who are necessarily affected by a conflict between the two, and must come through a spread of the principles of the Golden Rule which includes the true spirit of arbitration.

E. E. CLARK.

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THE NEW UNIONISM—THE PROBLEM OF THE UNSKILLED WORKER

The rapid economic evolution of the last decade, which brought about the organization of a third of our industries into monopolies and combinations, has brought with it an equally portentous change in the organization of labor. A new form of industrial organization, "the trust," now dominates the world of capital. The "trust" came from a former decade, but the thing as we know it, "a dominating combination of money, property, brains, industrial or commercial enterprise or experience," is a creation of the last few years. The new "labor" unions, the form of labor organization the last decade has brought into power, are as distinct from the old "trade" unions as is the new industrial trust from the old legal makeshift that went by that name, or as are the new allied banks, trust companies, railways and municipal corporations from predecessors which accepted competition not as the exception but as the rule.

If the era of trusts has required the rewriting of political economy and industrial history, the era of new unionism requires the rewriting of the economic theory of labor unions and the recasting of the history of their development. The standard works on trade union economy and trade union history, based on English experience and the industrial organization of a period rapidly passing away, are as obsolete to-day as are the competitive economics of Adam Smith.

The policies of the new unionism, whether good or bad, are not the result of arbitrary acts of labor leaders. The evolution of industry itself, the introduction of new machinery, the further subdivision of labor and the integration of industries brought about by the increasing number of functions of the *larger establishments* and *trusts*, is forcing the new policies. We may approve of the increasing democracy of the new unionism, of the decreasing frequency and success of the restrictions on machinery, output, and apprentices; or we may disapprove of the reduction of wages to a level, of the growing use of the boycott, the sympathetic strike

and political action and the increasing area and intensity of the strike. But each and every one of these policies is a direct and necessary result of the fundamental change evolution of industry is effecting in the character of the work the workman is required to perform.

In Great Britain, and in this country until recent years, the unions were composed of workmen relatively skilled, because in most industries skilled work was formerly more important than unskilled. Now the situation is almost completely reversed. New machinery and the better organization of industry has reduced the relative number of skilled men employed, has simplified their work and has bridged the gulf that formerly separated them from the unskilled by introducing an elaborate system of helpers and general hands. In times of severe strikes these latter workmen can replace a large part of the skilled men. Recognizing this fact from hard experience one union after another has decided to take the unskilled in. Once taken in the unskilled form a majority of the union. Then follows the abandonment of time-honored customs, the adoption of new policies as unwelcome to the employer and less understood by the public than were the old, and in short a revolution in the labor movement.

The key to the new unionism is the new importance of unskilled labor. The old unions, consisting of skilled men, demanded higher wages for themselves and left unskilled labor where it was. The economic basis of their demand was the "skill" they possessed. Their monopoly or partial control of a certain grade of labor, their "rent of ability" was due either to dexterity, that is, to the greater difficulty and longer apprenticeship of their trades, or to its degree of separation from the next most similar operation of some other class of workmen. The introduction of new machinery and the further subdivision of labor both decrease the amount of dexterity required and place helpers at operations nearer to that of the "skilled" worker. Both his skill and his monopoly of his trade are threatened with extinction.

Intelligence, a general understanding of machinery, an ability to co-operate with the next man, are perhaps more required than ever, but the old "skill" of the artisan and the old exclusive lines of the trade are becoming a thing of the past. Men are more specialized than ever, in the sense of being divided into more classes.

But the difficulty of passing from one of the new classes to another is not so great as it was nor is so much time required to learn the trade.

The reader will recognize the truth of the above generalizations as to the changes in the character of the modern workman's tasks, but he will not appreciate their importance until he has examined the result of the recent Census.

Already the unskilled constitute a heavy majority in industry. In 1900, there were 11,358,312 working *men* in the United States, if we include as workingmen all employees in trade, transportation, manufacture and direct service, and exclude only agriculture and professional service. (See Census of Occupations, Twelfth Census, Vol. II, p. cx.; I, IV.) Of these a large proportion are relatively unskilled, including for instance 2,505,267 laborers, 1,106,306 clerks and salesmen, 538,029 teamsters. But this is only the beginning. Among the enumerated employees of the building trades are some 1,200,000 workingmen. Of these 600,000 are carpenters, mostly not very skilled and about 100,000 are helpers, apprentices, etc. Of the 581,728 employees of mines and quarries in 1902, only 324,430 are entered as miners and quarrymen. Of the others 152,302 are entered as other wage-earners who are principally unskilled; 18,376 are miners' helpers, 8,740 firemen, 13,544 timbermen, 11,857 boys under sixteen years of age, etc. (See Bureau of Census, Bulletin 9.) Of 1,189,315 railway employees enumerated by the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1902, 886,220 were neither officers, station masters, engineers, firemen, conductors, machinists, carpenters nor telegraphers, but "other" station men, trainmen, shopmen, trackmen, switchmen and clerks, all classes that are relatively unskilled.

So with the manufacturing industries. Here we may divide the workers into relatively skilled and unskilled, by selecting as a dividing line some wage rate which includes above it those classes known as skilled workers, and below it those known as unskilled in the trade itself. The Census of Wages and Employees showed that three-quarters of the men in the cotton industry, for instance, were employed in occupations in which the majority did not receive as much as \$10.00 a week, and a majority of the women in occupations in which most of them did not get \$6.50 a week when the mills were in operation. The same proportions applied to all the industry,

as well as to the establishments examined, would show 105,000 males and 63,000 females in the class of relatively unskilled workers.

The same method of calculation shows large numbers to fall within the classes of the relatively unskilled in nearly every industry. A majority of the indicated number of employees in the industries in Table I received less than the indicated remuneration when at work. The average *earnings* are not given. As distinct from the wage rate, the earnings would in each case be less than the latter in proportion to the number of days the men were idle through the closing of the works, accidents, sickness or any other cause. In some of the industries the regular seasonal idleness is as much as a fourth of the year, and to this must be added all idleness affecting the individual workman.

TABLE I.
UNSKILLED LABOR IN ELEVEN LEADING INDUSTRIES.

Class	No. of Relatively Unskilled	Per cent. total Employees	Highest Me- dian Rate of Wages per week
Cotton.....	272,575	90	\$10.00
Clothing, factory product	249,852	91	11.50
Lumber and Planing Mills.....	263,780	74	10.50
Iron and Steel Mills.....	212,000	80	12.00
Carriages and Wagons	48,741	69	12.50
Boots and Shoes.....	107,215	75	12.50
Flour Mills	25,951	70	12.50
Agricultural Implements.....	31,741	78	12.50
Foundries and Metal Working..	227,500	65	13.50
Printing.....	66,410	41	9.50
Glass.....	26,937	51	11.50

Among the male employees in the cotton industry I have classed as skilled only the foremen, beamers, loom fixers, spinners and section hands, and as unskilled the general hands, laborers, helpers, weavers, etc.; in the lumber and planing mills the unskilled include the laborers, machine tenders, sorters and teamsters; in the foundries and machine shops, assemblers, laborers, helpers, machine operators, and general hands; in the carriage and wagon factories, finishers, laborers, helpers and general hands; in the clothing trade, sewing machine operators, bushelers, general hands, etc.; in the flour mills, all except millers and foremen; in the printing establishments, the women workers, general hands, laborers, helpers

and apprentices; in the boot and shoe industry, the women workers and all male employees except cutters, edgers and foremen. According to this classification, a large majority of the workers are unskilled in every industry specified except printing and glass. The figures chosen as the dividing line between skilled and unskilled in these trades is a low one, but the relatively greater proportion of skilled labor is nevertheless exceptional since there are very few workers in either industry of the middle grade. They are, for the most part, either low-paid as indicated or else very well paid with weekly wages of \$13 to \$16, \$18, or even \$20. It must be remembered, however, that employment is very subject to fluctuation in both industries and that the annual earnings are correspondingly reduced.

It is probably a safe estimate then that less than one-third of the 11,358,000 male employees of industry can be classed as relatively skilled workers; that is to say, as men whose wages approach \$2.25 a day or \$13.50 a week *in good times and when employed*. What annual income this means can only be roughly estimated. The Bulletins of the Department of Labor of New York show an average amount of unemployment of about 15 per cent. among the members of unions in good times. The proportion of idleness among the unskilled workers (who are so largely unorganized) would be considerably greater. If we estimate unemployment, however, at 15 per cent. this would make the annual income in good times, slightly less than \$600 for that class of labor we have classed as relatively unskilled. More than two-thirds of the male employees of the industries of the United States will fall in this class.

Three fundamental tendencies in the organization of the armies of industry have caused this astounding increase of unskilled labor:

First—Unskilled operations have been taken away from the artisan and placed in the hands of the unskilled.

Second—Skilled operations have been subdivided and specialized and the new work largely taken away from the skilled and distributed among unskilled workmen. At the same time the work remaining to the skilled men is simplified and the degree of skill required is lessened. To this double tendency is due the increasing uniformity of rates of wages of the skilled and unskilled.

Third—A third tendency results from the fact that similar differentiations have been going on in many different industries at

the same time. Machinists, molders, woodworkers, machine tenders, porters, packers, assemblers and common laborers, etc., are now employed in a large proportion of the great industries. Each of these tendencies can be studied in the Census returns.

First—Unskilled operations have been taken away from the skilled worker and placed in the hands of the relatively unskilled. This is clearly shown by the Census of Wages and Employees. (See Table II.) Dividing the employees between skilled and unskilled as before, we get the following increase of the number of skilled and unskilled workers in some of the leading industries. The relative increase of the unskilled is striking in every industry mentioned except cotton, which underwent the change before this decade, as is evident from the fact that nine-tenths of its employees fall within our class of the relatively unskilled.

TABLE II.
RELATIVE INCREASE OF SKILLED AND UNSKILLED EMPLOYEES
IN LEADING INDUSTRIES.

Class	1890 — Men — 1900		Increase	P. C.
Agricultural Implements:				
Skilled	604.....	1,705.....	1,101	184
Unskilled.....	1,623.....	6,728.....	5,105	314
Lumber and Planing Mills:				
Skilled.....	260.....	284.....	24	10
Unskilled.....	337.....	418.....	81	24
Flour Mills:				
Skilled.....	132.....	128.....	4*.....	3*
Unskilled.....	803.....	1,381.....	574	70
Printing:				
Skilled.....	1,847.....	1,290.....	557	30
Unskilled.....	605.....	894.....	289	44
Carriage and Wagon Factories:				
Skilled.....	463.....	382.....	81*.....	17*
Unskilled.....	395.....	504.....	109	28
Iron and Steel Mills:				
Skilled.....	671.....	735.....	64	9
Unskilled.....	12,573.....	19,396.....	6,823	54
Cotton:				
Skilled.....	753.....	1,038.....	285	38
Unskilled.....	599.....	772.....	173	29
Boots and Shoes:				
Skilled.....	294.....	355.....	61	21
Unskilled.....	240.....	457.....	217	90

*Decrease.

Second—Skilled operations have been simplified and subdivided. Part of the work has been given to the relatively unskilled groups. The result has been (1) that the wages of the two groups have been brought towards a common level, and (2) that the wages of individuals of the same group or class have been equalized to a large degree.

The following tables (from the Census of Employees and Wages) show both tendencies. The Census replaces averages by medians; that is, the rate above which half the workers are paid and below which half are paid. Foundries and Metal Working has been selected for the first tendency as one of the most highly organized industries. It will be noticed that the skilled workers show, on the whole, a slight decrease while the unskilled show a considerable increase in the rate of wages. (See Table III.)

TABLE III.
RELATIVE CHANGES IN WAGES IN SKILLED AND UNSKILLED LABOR

	1890	Medians	1900	Change in per cent.
Foundries and Metal Working, Skilled:				
Foremen,	\$18.00	\$18.00		00
Blacksmiths,	16.50	15.00*		9*
Boilermakers,	13.50	13.00*		3*
Molders,	13.50	15.00		11
Carpenters	13.50	13.00*		3*
Woodworkers and Pattern				
Makers,	16.00	16.50		3
Sheet Metal Workers,	13.50	13.00*		3*
Engineers,	13.50	13.00*		3*
Erectors and Assemblers,	12.50	12.00*		4*
Foundries and Metal Working, Unskilled:				
Machinists,	9.00	10.00		11
General Hands, Helpers				
and Laborers,	8.00	8.50		6
Helpers, Blacksmiths,	11.00	10.50*		5*
Helpers, Boilermakers,	9.00	9.00		00
Helpers, Machinists,	9.00	9.00		00
Helpers, Molders and Core-				
makers,	8.00	9.00		12
Machine Tenders and 2d				
Class Machinists,	9.00	10.00		11

*Decrease.

The tendency of the wages of a majority of the individuals

in each class to approach a common level is also shown by the Census of Employees and Wages. "Quartiles" are those wage rates between which lie the wages of half the employees of each class. The difference between the quartiles is the range of the wages of half the employees of each class. The range in wages of the more important classes of labor in several industries is given. It will be noticed that the range of the wages of a majority of nearly every class of employees has either remained about stationary or decreased since 1890. (See Table IV.)

TABLE IV.
DECREASING RANGE IN WAGES.

	Range in Wages. (Difference in Quartiles).	
	1890	1900
Boots and Shoes:		
General Hands.....	\$5.00	\$5.00
Bottom Finishers.....	6.50	6.00
Stock Fitters.....	9.00	5.00
Clothing Trade:		
Sewing Machine Operators.....	7.50	7.00
Busshelers.....*	2.50	3.00
General Hands.....	5.00	6.00
Agricultural Implements:		
Assemblers.....	5.50	4.50
General Hands, Helpers and Laborers.....	4.50	4.00
Machine Operators.....	5.00	4.00
Foundries and Metal Working:		
Erectors and Assemblers.....	7.00	5.50
General Hands, Helpers and Laborers.....	2.50	2.50
Helpers, Blacksmiths.....	4.00	3.50
Helpers, Boilermakers.....	3.50	3.50
Helpers, Machinists.....	2.50	3.00
Helpers, Molders and Coremakers.....	3.00	2.00
Machine Tenders and Second Class Machinists...	5.50	5.00
Lumber and Planing Mills:		
Laborers.....	6.00	5.00
Machine Tenders.....	3.50	5.00
Sorters.....	2.50	1.50
Teamsters.....	2.00	1.50

The third cause of the increase of the importance of the unskilled is the increasing importance of certain common operations as transportation, packing and power production in every industry.

This tendency has greatly added to the number of workers in these occupations in every industry where they are found. (See Table V.)

TABLE V.
INCREASE IN RELATIVELY UNSKILLED OCCUPATIONS.
(See Census of Occupations.)

	1890 — Men —	1900	Increase	P. C.
Laborers (not specified).....	1,858,558	2,505,287	646,729	34
Draymen, hackmen, teamsters, etc...	368,265	538,029	169,764	46
Engineers and F'm'n (not locomotive)	139,718	223,318	83,600	59
Porters and Helpers (in stores, etc.)..	24,002	53,625	29,623	123

We have shown that unskilled labor is already in the majority in most industries; that its importance is increasing; that it is becoming less separated from skilled labor; that there is a tendency toward a leveling in wages, and that not only the lines separating the trades within each industry are breaking down, but also there is a great group of trades that flourish in several, or in nearly all industries, thus bringing them into the same labor market. We must now show the social results of these economic forces. First, two great facts that urge the unskilled worker to active discontent must be recalled to mind.

First, unskilled labor has not secured its share in our prosperity. The Census of Employees and Wages shows that wages in many industries were stagnant from 1890 to 1900, a period in which the per capita wealth and income of the nation increased over 19 per cent. Of twenty-five leading industries examined in the Census of Wages and Employees, only eight showed any noticeable increase; four showed marked decreases and 13 paid about the same wages in 1900 as in 1890.

Second, unskilled labor has suffered most from instability of employment. The railroads discharged 93,000 employees from July 1, 1893, to July 1, 1894, nearly 11 per cent. of the total employed. The number of officers and station agents was, however, actually increased during the year. Section foremen were practically undisturbed. Less than 11 per cent. of the engineers, firemen, conductors, switchmen, machinists and other shopmen were let out. But 12 per cent. of the relatively unskilled trainmen and shopmen, 16 per cent. of the section hands and 19 per cent. of the "other" employees and laborers were discharged. The unskilled workers

go first because they can be more easily replaced when needed again. They are made to shoulder most of the burden of hard times. The unrest of labor is not then to be attributed to the unions, but to low wages and irregular employment. Since the census of 1900 the wages of the unskilled have risen slightly, but none of the statistics available indicate a rise as rapid as that of the cost of living. Moreover, the tendency of wages is now downward again and steadily decreasing employment has already thrown hundreds of thousands out of work. Under these conditions the pressure to strike comes, not from the labor leaders, but from the rank and file and even in very many instances from the unorganized.

The unions are no longer ignoring unskilled labor. There is hardly one of them, the very existence of which is not threatened by this reserve army of hungry, restless and unorganized workmen. They have boldly tackled the problem, but they have not solved it. It is only recently that their efforts to organize the unskilled have met with any success. Until the last decade their work had been almost entirely with the relatively skilled.

Only about 3,000,000 workers are so far organized into the unions. Since there are almost 4,000,000 in the class of the relatively skilled, it has been widely, but wrongly, inferred that the unions are operating and must operate nearly altogether within the ranks of skilled labor, and it has been doubted if the trade unions have shown any ability or anxiety to handle the problem of the unskilled. From English testimony it would seem that this has largely been true in that country, but the history of the trade unions in the United States in the past five years has tended to prove the very reverse to be the case in this country. Not only are the unions here taking up the organization of the unskilled in order to strengthen their present position but they find that they are forced to organize them in self-defense.

The newer, more successful and more rapidly growing unions belong to another economic period from that in which the old ones had their origin. As a result of the growing importance of unskilled labor they are dominated by its demands, the character of their membership has changed, their methods of fighting have changed and their attitude towards industry and the public is the process of becoming completely reversed.

The militant policy of the new unions as that of the old rests on the fundamental assumption that the members do not expect to rise from their class but with it. The wage earner in the words of Mr. Mitchell, "has made up his mind that he must remain a wage earner and that he will never become a capitalist." But the new unionist has gone further than this. Forced by economic development he has broadened his conception of what constitutes his class. He has come to see that his future does not lie in building up a monopoly of labor in his trade. He has already made up his mind that he must cast in his lot with all the workers in his industry and he is now coming to feel that his lot is bound up with that of the whole working class. The old trade unions are rapidly being absorbed by the new trade and industrial unions, and these in their turn by the nation-wide labor movement.

No better or more important illustration of how the new union fights can be found than the Anthracite Coal Strike. The success of the miners was based on the following policies:

First—The organization of all the men skilled or unskilled about the mines, including even laborers, teamsters and engineers—the appeal to unskilled labor.

Second—The appeal to all other union men and to sympathizers in the mining districts; successful calls for financial aid, for social ostracism of non-union men, for the use of the boycott and the political action which resulted in the State law which forbade imported miners to operate without a license.

Third—Finally the union appealed to the whole public. The broadest policy of the union was to conduct itself so as to prevent consumers of coal from placing the blame for their sufferings on the shoulders of the miners. Favorable public opinion not only in the mining camps, but of the nation at large had to be secured. It was this primarily and not the sufferings of the men that forced the President to interfere in the union's favor, and brought about the final union success.

The United Mine Workers as a result of this strike is not only the strongest organization in the country, both financially and numerically, but also the most typical of the new unions. Let us contrast its fighting methods with the Machinists' Union, which was a few years ago struggling in vain with the old policies and

has only recently adopted the new standpoint. Several years ago the machinists instituted what became almost a national strike. Employers were not organized and the union at first met with considerable success. But it was following the old restrictive policies. It was attempting to maintain control over the supply of skilled labor. The unskilled it kept out. The normal course of industry soon brought it about that there were more 'helpers' and 'machine hands' outside of the union than there were 'machinists' in it. The employers now organized, adopted the open shop and the employment bureau (a potential blacklist), and wielded this reserve army against the union. In many localities the union has found itself helpless. In some of the largest manufacturing centers the employers have almost succeeded in putting it out of business. During the late industrial boom, union wages were paid and union hours prevailed, but the union was not recognized, and union machinists fear that this presages a reduction of wages and an increase of hours when work becomes slack.

The union at last saw that the revolution which had taken place in the industry demanded a revolution in the union. At the recent convention in Milwaukee, the most momentous struggle in its history took place between the advocates of the old and the new unionism. After a series of the stormiest sessions, it was decided that the old policy must be abandoned. Helpers, machine hands and everybody that works about lathes, planers, drills, etc., are to be admitted to the union ranks. The decision has already been acted on. Only recently one of the metal workers' unions, which had already taken in a number of unskilled men, has been amalgamated with the Association of Machinists and tens of thousands of unskilled workers admitted by a single act.

The attitude of the new Unionism toward industry itself is as completely the reverse of that of the old unions as is its attitude toward the unskilled workers, toward the labor movement and toward the public. As a result of the need of the co-operation of the unskilled workers in the unions, all effort to restrict the entrance of new men into the union or the trade is abandoned. Since nearly all workers are becoming potential competitors, the union is anxious to secure as many members as possible. The rigid definition of the line between skilled and unskilled work is given

up because the unskilled workers constitute a majority of the new union and insist on free admission to the ranks above them; restriction of apprentices is gradually abandoned. The wages of the unskilled workers are advanced more in proportion than those of the skilled workers for the same reason. The subdivision of the workers into the many different classes is opposed on the ground that it has a tendency to bring internal conflicts into the union.

Restriction of output, if still maintained, is maintained on new grounds: the unwillingness of the men to overexert themselves to the verge of nervous exhaustion, spells of sickness and premature old age. The old unions systematically restricted output and worked for an under supply of skilled labor. This they could obtain either by diminishing the supply or increasing the demand. By means of tacit or expressed agreements among the employed to do less work they increased the demand. They called this making the work go round or making it last over into periods of slack employment. Now, with a surplus supply of labor accessible, if not actually at hand, the competition for employment among the members of the unions and the potential competition of those who may become members of the union at any moment is so great that these old policies are being abandoned. It is only in the union shop that such tactics can be safely and continuously employed. The open shop with the freedom it gives the employer to discharge unsatisfactory men has given them their death blow.

Restriction of machinery has taken a new form. It now prevails principally where some revolutionary change is in progress as in the introduction of mining machinery in the coal mines. The new coal-mining machines are being fought by the unions not directly, but through a differential against the machine. A higher rate is charged for the machine men, not so much because their labor is more skilled, as because of the desire to check somewhat the introduction of the machines. This differential is, however, frequently changed. There is no effort to prevent the introduction of machinery, but only to make it sufficiently gradual, so that there will not be a sudden replacement of the men by a different class of workers. Since the unskilled are now generally in control the effort to prevent a machine from taking the place of some small

group of skilled workers has been almost entirely abandoned. The new employers' associations have been fighting effectively the remnants of this policy that still remain.

The startling union successes of recent years have been among the unions that follow the new policies. This is shown by the relative numerical increase of the various unions. Since the beginning of the recent days of prosperity in 1898 or 1899 all the unions have grown. Their total membership has been more than doubled, but the growth has been very unequally distributed. The old type of union of skilled workers has grown steadily but slowly with an average increase of something more than 50 per cent. Among these are: The Railway Employees, The Building Trades, Printers, Cigarmakers, Brewery Workmen, Iron Molders, Boiler-makers and Blacksmiths and Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

Another group of organizations, all of them either new or practically reorganized in recent years, has had a total growth of approximately 300 per cent., as indicated by its representation at Conventions of the American Federation of Labor: It includes The Coal Miners, The Metal Miners, The Street Railway Employees, The Seamen, The Longshoremen, The Ready-made Clothing Makers, The Boot and Shoe Workers, Meat Packers and Butchers, The Machinists, The Teamsters, The Woodworkers, The Stationary Engineers and Firemen.

These newer unions would seem at first to have nothing in common. The teamsters and longshoremen work in trades where there is little or no machinery to be handled while the woodworkers and machinists are exclusively machine employees. The miners embrace all the miscellaneous trades employed by the mines, whereas the stationary engineers and firemen are isolated either as individuals or small groups in every sort of an establishment where steam power or heat is required. The clothing makers and the boot and shoe workers are quite largely women while the trades just mentioned are exclusively men. But all are composed largely of relatively unskilled labor. The new growth among these unions as well as most of that of the old unions is almost entirely among the unskilled. The new growth in the old unions of the building trades is largely among those branches called unskilled by the trade itself.

The new unions fall into two widely different classes which

seem on the verge of disrupting the whole labor movement, the "industrial" union and the new "trade" union. The "industrial" union claims to embrace every employee of its industry in all its trades. The miners, for instance, embrace both teamsters and engineers employed at the mines. The new "trade" union claims to have a right to embrace all the workers at the trade in every industry. The old unions were called "trade" unions but they were fundamentally different from the new "trade" unions of to-day. They were largely recruited from a *single trade within a single industry*. The compositors, for instance, are undoubtedly a trade union, but they are employed only in printing establishments. The machinists are a trade union of a new type. They are employed in machine shops, engine shops, boiler shops, ship-building yards, carbuilding shops, agricultural implement shops and in nearly every important industry. Teamsters, to take a newer and even more striking example, are employed by nearly every industrial establishment in the country, as also are engineers and firemen.

The causes that gave origin to the industrial unions are the increasing proportion of unskilled workers in the industry, the decreasing sharpness of definition of the line between the skilled and unskilled trades and the greater ease with which the occupations of the skilled can be learned by the unskilled.

The origin of the new *trade* unions lies in the ability of workers in the various trades to take up similar occupations in other industries than those in which they are employed. A change of industry always necessitates some adaptation in the workman, nor is it possible for men of a given trade to transfer themselves from a given industry to every other industry in which men of the same trade are employed. But it is possible for employees in a trade A, to transfer themselves to another trade, B, and for the employees of the trade B, to transfer themselves to the trade C, etc. A milk wagon teamster cannot become a coal teamster in every case, but he can usually find some teamster's or driver's work less strenuous to which he may adapt himself, while many classes of teamsters, such as van-drivers, etc., can learn to replace the coal teamster.

Both forms of new unionism then, industrial unionism and the new trade unionism, are the result of these deep-seated economic

characteristics of our age. They both result from the increasing importance of unskilled labor.

Industrial unionism requires the organization of the unskilled primarily because the modern strike means a shut down of the whole industry. But the shut down of an industry means that all must be idle. Skilled and unskilled must strike together and share the expenses as well as the benefits of the conflict.

The new trade unionism means the organization of the unskilled because no boundary between skilled and unskilled labor can be drawn inside of the trade. How is any rigid test to be set up for admission into the organization of the firemen or teamsters' unions, or even those of the machinists or of the woodworkers? There may be high degrees of specialization and even of skill within the trades, and yet the specialties are so closely related that they shade off into one another by imperceptible degrees.

These two new forms of unionism are everywhere superseding the old. The machinists, the iron, steel and tin workers, the brewery workmen and the printers have already broadened their policies to adapt themselves to the new idea. The building trades have long been closely associated in the cities and towns in the Building Trades Councils where the trade organizations are preserved, but are closely federated into an industrial group.

The two forms of organization seem to be opposed at every point. The industrial union fights for the control of the industry. It comes to see, therefore, that it cannot afford to antagonize the consumer of the product of that industry. In some cases, as in that of the miners, the public sympathy of the consumer alone is enough to insure victory. In others he must be persuaded to boycott non-union men, to patronize the union label or to refuse to ride in the street cars of an "unfair" corporation. The *trade* unionist, on the other hand, has little to fear or to expect from the consumer. He often does not hesitate to antagonize him. The trade unionists' wages are not a very large factor in the cost of any given product and do not, therefore, concern the purchaser of the product.

The contrast between the two types of unions can also be seen in their attitude towards politics. Where labor is well organized, as in the mining camps and manufacturing towns, one or another of the

industrial unions dominates local politics. The trade unions are powerful politically only in the large commercial centers.

The contrast is equally marked in the fight with organized employers. Wherever a combination or monopoly does not already exist to unite the employers, the industrial unions have given rise to the relatively conservative employers' trade associations. The trade unions, on the other hand, have been the principal cause of bringing into being the local employers' associations, which have, in many cases, taken into their ranks, not only every class of manufacturer, but also banks, commercial houses and even professional men. These are the radical associations that lead in the fight for the open shop and are the first to introduce the new blacklist, the so-called employment bureau.

The industrial organizations are universally favorably disposed towards the trusts and larger employers while the trade unions are as likely to prefer the smaller employers and competitive industry. Industrial unions are universally and necessarily in favor of the regulation of the trusts. Their aim is the representation of the industry in politics and in many cases, as that of the brewery workmen, the boot and shoe workers and the Western Federation of Miners, they favor socialism or the assumption of industrial functions by a democratic state.

Again the industrial organizations are very often protectionist. They realize that the lowering of the tariff might, in some cases, mean a serious decrease in the amount of employment afforded by their industry. The trade unionists are usually free traders. They are anxious to obtain a lower cost of living and have little to lose from the lowering of the tariff on any particular industry, *e. g.*, the building trades, teamsters, stationary firemen, engineers, etc.

The trade organizations are more interested in local politics, sometimes on account of laws regulating their trades as with the engineers and building trades, sometimes on account of the conditions of public contracts they can control, as with the teamsters, the building trades, and so forth. The industrial organizations operate principally in industries that have a national market and are more subject to the national and state governments.

The last and most important differentiation is the direct conflict arising when jurisdiction over the same men is claimed by both types

of unions. The new trade unions, such as the teamsters, engineers and firemen, machinists and woodworkers, are engaged in bitter conflicts with the industrial unions, miners, brewery workers, slaughter house employees, etc., to decide to which union workingmen belonging to the former trades, but at work in the latter industries, shall belong. The contest between the skilled and unskilled workers that was formerly waged within the labor movement and threatened to limit it to the upper third, the aristocracy of labor, has disappeared. In its place has risen the fight between the industrial and the trade union, a fight that, far from disrupting the labor movement, can have but one result—to solidify all the unions into one complex and differentiated but unified whole.

Neither type of union can drive the other out of existence since both are the result of deep-seated economic causes. It is sometimes hastily assumed that the new type of union is the industrial union and that it is replacing the trade union. On the assumption of this necessary conflict the whole labor movement is at present split into two camps, the trade autonomists and the industrialists. Mr. Gompers is a trade autonomist. Mr. Mitchell is an industrialist. Of course, they have effected a working compromise but every convention of the American Federation of Labor is torn by the dissensions of the two factions. The fight is largely based on the failure to distinguish between the old and the new "trade" union. Neither industrialist nor trade autonomist can win, because each represents a principle of modern industry. The trade autonomists reflect the tendency of all industries to introduce into their development certain common classes of employees, and, therefore, certain common elements. In the ranks of capital a similar tendency is seen in the common control by some of the large monopolies of subsidiary industries in which some product of the monopoly is an important factor. The industrial union, in recognition of this tendency, seeks to include in its ranks all the employees of this new type of industrial organization.

Another tendency of capital is to tie several industries together on the community of interest plan. Railroads, banks and groups of capitalists gain the control of industries with which they are affiliated. The only bond of affiliation seems to be the common need of all industries of financial and transportation facilities. So the new trade unions, recognizing the common need of many industries for

certain classes of labor and the fact that these industries compete against one another for this labor, have organized it along trade lines in all these industries to prevent the hostile employer from drawing non-union labor from other industries.

In the sphere of capital it is evident that no agreement between the two tendencies can be reached until all industries are thoroughly integrated and organized in a single mass. Already a few groups of capitalists dominate the more important industries. In the same way, the conflict between industrial unions and trade unions of the new type must continue until both are fused into a unified labor movement.

The trade and industrial unions are not in necessary conflict—they are the warp and the woof of the new labor movement. As all the workers in an industry must fight together or not at all, they must belong to a single industrial union. Since workers in different industries are employed at similar tasks, and are in competition with one another and must also be organized by trades, if they are not to be used against one another by the employers; since the labor market for some trades is not confined to a single industry; therefore, the union cannot be confined to that industry.

The only possible solution is one already coming into vogue—the exchange of cards between the unions and the recognition that trade and industrial unions must act together. This is not the principle of the Federation of Labor, which recognizes trade and industrial autonomy, but a radically new one. It can lead to but one result—the solidification of the labor movement with all the far reaching implications that must follow when the barriers that the unions have so long recognized between trade and trade and industry and industry fall. For the unions of the larger industries must then act closely with the unions of many trades, and the unions of all the trades must co-operate with those of many industries. With the innumerable combinations that must arise there will inevitably be woven the texture of a unified labor movement. Already the sympathetic strike, the financial assistance lent by all the unions to those involved in severe struggles, the boycott and common political aims, such as the eight hour and anti-injunction laws, require for their success the generous support of many unions and forecast a unified movement.

Organized capital is fast becoming one. Organized labor is not far behind. But the coming of monopolies and a general community of interest of capital has not been accompanied by monopolies in labor, but by precisely the reverse tendency, the increasing competition among individuals, the opening up of the skilled trades to the unskilled, the combination of the two classes in each industry, the development of a general labor movement, the broad appeal to the consumer and finally to the general public and the state.

When the industrial unions and trade unions shall have formed an effective treaty of peace, there will be no interval or stopping place until the complete organization of labor is reached. The amalgamation of all the labor unions into a single body or the increasing agreement on the part of all the unions on certain common lines of action, will create perhaps the most powerful economic and political force this country has produced. When once the union policies have been so broadened as to make room for unskilled labor as is the case to-day, there seems to be no reason to suppose that they will stop short of complete unity. They will then have, acting together in one organization, the majority of the consumers, voters and citizens of every industrial community in the United States.

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POLITICAL ACTION AND TRADE-UNIONISM

The proposal to make political action a feature of American trade-unionism, although always a topic of discussion among organized workers, and at times a subject of practical experiment by certain bodies, may be said to have first assumed definite national form at the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Chicago in 1893.

The history of the debate and action thereon, covering the intervening decade, constitutes perhaps the most important epoch in the labor movement of the present generation. Upon this presumption these events seem to justify more detailed and consecutive treatment than has as yet been accorded them. During the period covered by this paper the growth of organization among the workers in the United States has been phenomenal. The extent, character and circumstances of that growth have presented a great opportunity, and also a great danger. Speaking generally, it may be said that the labor movement has fairly well availed itself of the former and in the main avoided the latter of these situations.

Throughout the various crises of the decade, the American Federation of Labor has maintained the course that, as the results have frequently shown, is best calculated to conserve the true interests and continued progress of its own membership and of the industrial world at large. The disposition and power to maintain this attitude is due mainly to the long discussion of political action as a necessary or desirable adjunct, or complement, of trade-unionism.

At the Chicago convention a "political programme" was introduced. The discussion thereon shortly resolved itself into a proposal to refer the entire subject matter to the affiliated unions for "favorable consideration" and instructions to the next convention. A resolution to this effect, but with the word "favorable" stricken out, was adopted. When the convention met in Denver, in 1894, the "political programme" was again brought up for action.

The preamble of the programme was as follows:

WHEREAS, The trade-unionists of Great Britain have by the light of experience and the logic of progress, adopted the principle of independent labor politics as an auxiliary to their economic action, and

WHEREAS, Such action has resulted in the most gratifying success, and

WHEREAS, Such independent labor politics are based upon the following programme, to wit:

Mr. Adolph Strasser, a representative of the Cigarmakers' International Union and a leader of high intellectual attainments and wide knowledge of the economic and political activities of the workers throughout the world, moved

That the preamble be stricken out, being a misrepresentation of facts.

The debate on this motion centered upon the question as to how far the preamble misrepresented the action taken by the British Trade-Union Congress held in Belfast during the previous year. The prevailing opinion was that the action of the Belfast gathering was without warrant in the sentiment of its constituents, and had been repudiated by them. During the debate the author of the preamble admitted the comparatively slender basis of his claim in these words:

I simply want to say that, in the statement in the preamble, there is a sufficiency of truth to at least protect any man from being charged with bold misrepresentation.

Mr. Strasser's motion to strike out the preamble was adopted by a vote of 1,345 to 861, representing a membership of 134,500 to 86,100, respectively.¹

The "political programme" here alluded to contained a number of planks, but the purpose of its mover and his supporters was embodied in a single one of these declarations, known as "Plank 10," which provided for "The collective ownership by the people of all means of production and distribution."

This was a plain declaration for Socialism, and was so regarded by its opponents and so admitted by its advocates throughout the debate upon it. However, it is characteristic of this and all

¹ Delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor cast one vote for each 100 members, or major fraction thereof, represented by them.

subsequent efforts to commit the American Federation of Labor to political action, that while the language of the proposals has studiously excluded the term "Socialism" (the term "political action *independent of the old parties*" being used in preference), its real object has been none the less apparent. Several amendments were introduced and discussed, and finally the convention adopted the following substitute:

The abolition of the monopoly system of land holding and the substitution therefor of a title of occupancy and use only.

"Plank 10," in the form finally adopted, was a victory of Single Tax sentiment over that of Socialism. A motion to adopt the planks "as a whole" was defeated, owing to a misunderstanding. However, the succeeding convention formally adopted the planks, not as a "political programme," but as "legislative demands!"²

Notwithstanding their defeat at the Denver Convention of 1894, and notwithstanding the action of that gathering was based upon presumably settled lines of trade-union policy, the delegates holding socialistic views upon political matters have persisted in the effort to secure an endorsement of these views from each succeeding convention of the Federation. The result has been uniformly the same in each instance, *i. e.*, refusal to pledge or advise the trade-unions to take part, as such, in any movement in the nature of partisan politics. The following table shows the result of the vote on the "Socialist Resolutions" at each convention during the past ten years:

Year	Convention City.	No. of Dels. Voting.	For Political Action.	No. of Dels. Voting.	Against Political Action.
1894	Denver.....	34	91,300	36	121,700
1895	New York.....	16	21,400	68	167,600
1896	Cincinnati.....	..	.....	..	.....
1897	Nashville.....	..	.....	..	.....
1898	Kansas City.....	..	.....	..	.....
1899	Detroit.....	..	.....	..	.....
1900	Louisville.....	42	68,500	111	416,900

² This convention also adopted a constitutional prohibition against the discussion of partisan political subjects.

TABLE—Continued³

1901	Seranton.....	..	.....	...	.....
1902	New Orleans.....	90	417,100	140	489,700
1903	Boston.....	65	214,700	299	1,128,200

These figures show that during the seven years from 1895 to 1901 (inclusive) the sentiment of the conventions was very strongly against political action. Five of the conventions held during that period disposed of the subject by *viva voce* vote. The vote taken at the New Orleans Convention of 1902 would indicate that sentiment had turned in favor of political action. The figures in this case afforded merely a surface indication, however. It is a feature common to all the votes that have been taken upon this question, that in the final alignment of the delegates a number have been actuated by secondary motives. This was especially the case at the New Orleans convention. On that occasion seven resolutions were introduced, all having political action as their expressed or implied purpose. These were reported back with a recommendation that the convention non-concur therein, and, instead, adopt a reaffirmation of the declaration, made by the preceding convention, that "our meetings, local and national, are now, and always have been, free to the discussion of any legitimate economic or political question, but, on the other hand, are equally pronounced against any partisan politics, religious discussions or race prejudices." To this report an amendment was offered, advising the working people "to organize their economic and political power to secure for labor the full equivalent of its toil and the overthrow of the wage system and the establishment of an industrial, co-operative democracy." The latter was, in turn, amended by a delegate

³Delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor cast "one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof" represented by them. In the table two ciphers have been added to the tally of votes cast, for the purpose of approximating the total membership represented in each case. Delegates from city trades councils and State Federations cast but a single vote each, but as the number of such delegates is usually relatively small the inclusion of their votes under the rule here adopted does not materially affect the result attained. Usually a number of delegates have, for one reason or another, failed to vote. Again, the actual membership of the Federation is always considerably in excess of that represented at the conventions. For instance, at the Boston Convention of 1903—an unusually representative gathering—the number of delegates present was 496, while the number recorded as voting was but 364. The actual membership was estimated at 1,465,800, while the delegates voting represented but 1,342,900.

The majority vote in the New York Convention of 1895 expressed the sentiment that the failure of the Denver Convention of the previous year to adopt the "political programme" as a whole "was equivalent to a rejection and, therefore, we declare that the American Federation has no political platform." Immediately following this vote a motion was adopted, providing that "these resolutions (*i. e.*, the planks adopted by the Denver Convention) be kept standing in the *American Federationist* as 'legislative demands.'"

representing the United Mine Workers, so as to strike out everything after the word "toil." This was accepted by the delegate who offered the first amendment, and thus the lines were merged. The political action amendment, having apparently been rendered innocuous by the proposal of the Mine Workers' delegate, received the vote of the delegates from the latter organization (representing a membership of 185,400) and also of many other delegates who upon a more definite presentation would have been recorded in opposition. The fact that, notwithstanding the misunderstanding in the New Orleans convention, the proposal in favor of political action failed of adoption by a considerable majority is significant of the powerful sentiment prevailing in the American Federation of Labor against such action.

However, the delegates of the Socialistic faith, and indeed the Socialists throughout the country, proclaimed the result of the vote at New Orleans as a victory for the principle of political action, presaging the "capture" of the Federation at an early date. These representations, although lacking any justification in the real facts of the case, had the effect of placing the labor movement in an equivocal position before the country. It was therefore determined, by common consent of the delegates in attendance at the Boston convention of 1903, that a decisive test should be made upon the issue, Politics versus Trade-Unionism. Ten resolutions of a political nature were introduced during the sessions at Boston. When these were reported back to the convention the committee briefly recommended unfavorable action. The custom on previous occasions had been to report some form of amendment to, or substitute for, the original resolutions, thus leaving the report itself open to amendment, with the resultant confusion of the issues. In this instance, the committee's object was, as announced by President Gompers, in ruling out a proposed substitute, to insure a clear understanding on both sides. This ruling of President Gompers was twice appealed from, and on both occasions it was sustained by a large majority, the convention thus expressing its acceptance of the lines of debate suggested by its presiding officer.

The discussion lasted nearly two days. The tone of debate was substantially the same as in former instances, although there was a more notable tendency on the part of many delegates to dis-

cuss the merits of Socialism and the attitude toward the American Federation of Labor of the individual Socialist inside and outside of the labor movement. Upon the whole, however, the debate was confined to the question as to whether the Federation should commit itself to political action on party lines or preserve its identity as a purely trade-union body.

The adoption of the committee's report against political action by a vote of 1,128,200 to 214,700 (the approximate membership represented by the delegates voting) may be regarded as demonstrating the result of ten years' constant and active agitation on the subject. Making every possible allowance for the uncertain quantities that enter into a calculation of this kind, there remains a reasonable assurance that the vote against political action represents at most the mean, rather than the maximum, of the sentiment on that score; whereas, the vote in favor of political action may be regarded as over rather than under the representation to which those holding that view are properly entitled. The nature of the subject and the circumstances of its discussion bear out this statement. Enthusiasm is proverbially and naturally the more prevalent among the aggressive minority in any conflict of arms or ideas. In any conflict involving a political issue the quality of enthusiasm is especially potent, since politics, being essentially a matter of faith, is largely a matter of individual leadership. In this view of the subject it may reasonably be assumed that the leaders of political action sentiment in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor have derived part of their support from men actuated by a spirit of admiration for their leadership rather than by a sense of conviction upon the merits of the ideas expounded by them.

The convention of the American Federation of Labor is, within the widest practicable limits, an absolutely free forum. "Programming" is unknown; debate follows the limits of latitude which the individual delegate chooses to impose upon himself, rather than the strict rules of parliamentary usage. These conditions insure a perfectly free discussion upon all questions; moreover, they enable the delegates to exploit their views by devices calculated to appeal to the wish rather than to the thought of their hearers.

On the whole, it is reasonably certain that the vote against political action is fairly representative of the sentiment prevail-

ing among the two million workers affiliated with the Federation. Taking into consideration the probable sentiment of the labor organizations unaffiliated with the latter body, the membership of which may be estimated at half a million, and deducing their views upon this subject from the fact of their conservatism in other connections, it follows that the vote here noted falls considerably short of recording the full strength of the opposition to political action among the trade-unions of the United States.

The position of the American Federation of Labor, as gathered from its records, is that, while rejecting the proposal of political action by the trade-unions, as fundamentally opposed to the proper purpose of these bodies, it favors discussion and action upon legislative lines. In other words, it seeks to secure favorable legislation from the existing legislative bodies without reference to their political make-up, leaving to the individual trade-unionist, in his capacity as a citizen, the duty of voting as his experience and judgment dictate and, if need be, of organizing with his fellows for the attainment of political ends. As a guide to the trade-unions in seeking legislation and as a means of concentrating their efforts upon points of common agreement, the Federation has declared for certain measures, not as in the nature of a "political programme," but simply and specifically as "legislative demands." These measures, as adopted at the Denver convention of 1894, are as follows:

LEGISLATIVE DEMANDS.

1. Compulsory education.
2. Direct legislation through the initiative and referendum.
3. A legal workday of not more than eight hours.⁴
4. Sanitary inspection of workshop, mine and home.
5. Liability of employers for injury to health, body and life.
6. Abolition of the contract system on all public works.
7. Abolition of the sweatshop.
8. Municipal ownership of street-cars, water works and gas and electric light plants for public distribution of light and heat.
9. Nationalization of telegraph, telephones, railroads and mines.
10. Abolition of the monopoly system of land holding and the substitution therefor of a title of occupancy and use only.
11. Repeal of all conspiracy and penal laws affecting seamen and other workmen, incorporated in the Federal laws of the United States.
12. Abolition of the monopoly privilege of issuing money and substituting therefor a system of direct issuance to and by the people.

⁴ This provision is intended to cover public works only, as in the case of the National Eight-Hour Law.

The adoption of these declarations did not impose upon the affiliated bodies any obligation to depart from the purely trade-union sphere of action. Such obligation as is involved is predicated upon the indorsement of the declarations by the individual unions. This point was made quite clear by President Gompers at the Denver convention, when, in reply to a question designed to elicit an authoritative and definite expression on the subject, he said:⁵

The American Federation of Labor is a voluntary organization; the resolutions or platforms adopted by it at its convention are expressive of the consensus of opinion of the majority of the organized workers affiliated with it. The resolutions and platforms adopted by it cannot be *imposed* upon any affiliated organization against its wishes, but they are presumed to be observed by all organizations.

The position of the Federation in respect to the question of political action is further exemplified by that feature of its constitution which bears thereon, which reads as follows:⁶

Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populist, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Upon all questions of policy affecting the American labor movement the example of the British trade-unionists is an important consideration. Especially is this true with regard to the question of political policy, since it is to that example that the exponent of political action on the part of the American trade-unions most frequently refers in justification of his views. It is, therefore, of interest to note the current tendency in this connection of the trade-unionists of Great Britain. An American publicist, writing from London, under recent date, says:⁷

No statistics are in existence giving the exact strength of the labor movement here. If London were as well organized as is Chicago, its trade societies would contain a membership of 750,000; at best I can count only 135,000. The London Trades Council has a membership of 57,601, with an income of \$3,357, of which \$280 was last year spent for the aid of labor candidates, and about \$1,000 for officers' salaries. But London is divided into two cities and twenty-seven boroughs, and some of these have trade councils of their own. Active political centers of influence are these trade councils, and it sometimes seemed to me that the political side of the labor movement had greater attractions for the members than did the matter of hours of labor and wages.

⁵ Official proceedings, A. F. of L. Convention, Denver, 1894.

⁶ Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, Art. III, Sec. 8.

⁷ Judson Grenell, London, June 4, 1904.

Every prominent labor man has his eye upon Parliament. He desires an official position in his union, for it is the natural stepping-stone to becoming a Councilman or an Alderman for a borough, from whence he naturally steps into an official position in the County Council. Then he is ready to stand for some Parliamentary district, which needs not be the one in which he resides. He is free to select any constituency, and as strong men are sought after, a man who has made a good record in subordinate political positions is sought after in close districts, in the hope that the weight of his popularity may help to overcome the opposition.

These observations suggest that the poor state of industrial organization among the London workers is either the effect of the condition under which office in a trade-union is regarded as the "natural stepping-stone" to political office, or that the comparative lack of interest among the workers in the matter of hours of labor and wages is the cause of personal political activity among the workers' representatives. The situation prevailing among the London workers, as here described, is typical of that existing among American workers in all similar circumstances. Throughout the United States the growth and effectiveness of the trade-union is generally in inverse ratio to its political activity, or to the political activity of those intrusted with the administration of its affairs.

To quote further from the same source:⁸

It has often been asked: What will workingmen do if they ever obtain full political power? Battersea, a city of 171,000 inhabitants, a borough of London, and the home of John Burns, from which he is regularly returned to Parliament, answers this question in part. Here the organized labor element "runs things," electing two-thirds of the administrative and legislative officials and using their power to the fullest extent possible for those objects for which trade-unions and governments are supposed to exist.

The platform upon which, presumably, the political efforts of the organized workers of Battersea are centered stands for these objects: Public baths, public wash houses, workingmen's homes, sterilized milk for infants, public gymnasium and billiard rooms, electric lighting for public and private use, workshops for making building and road material, public lavatories, public libraries, workshop inspection, waterworks to supply the public baths, labor bureau.

These are not trade-union objects, but social objects. They are objects for the attainment of which "governments are supposed

⁸ Judson Grenell, Battersea (London), June 1, 1904.

to exist;" but they are not objects which can properly occupy the chief attention of a trade-union. With the exception of the demands for "workshops for making building and road materials," "workshop inspection," and "labor bureau," the platform in question contains nothing of interest especially and peculiarly to the workers, as such: certainly, it contains nothing of immediate personal interest to the workers of any particular craft. It is a platform in which the public at large is, or ought to be, interested, and for the attainment of which the public should organize. To say that the organized labor element "runs things"—having in mind the things here noted—is to suggest that it is neglecting the things which it ought to run, that it is letting these things run themselves or leaving them to be run by other elements.

In judging the work of organized labor it is not sufficient that that work is in line with those objects for which governments are supposed to exist, or with those objects concerning which most men are agreed in theory. The prime test of organized labor consists, not in the record of its public activities, not in the record of what it has forced from the government in the way of legislation, but in the record of what it has forced from the employer in the way of higher wages, shorter hours and improved working conditions generally—in short, in the record of that which only a trade-union can do, of that which no government can do, of that which even the best government ought not to attempt to do. It is by this test that the student must judge the causes of the strength or weakness of trade-union sentiment among the workers in any craft or locality, as it is by this test that the workers themselves judge the trade-union and decide whether or not it is of use to them.

An organization of workers may accomplish much good in social and political ways, yet may be a trade-union in name only—may, indeed, be a complete failure in all the essential requirements of trade-unionism. There is no necessary connection between social legislation and industrial reform. Indeed, to judge by the more conspicuous instances of governmental concern for the welfare of the working class it would appear that a low wage rate and a long workday are natural concomitants of these forms of paternalism. Whether it be attributable to coincidence or to cause, a fact of common observation is that in many localities in which ultra-progressive methods of govern-

ment prevail there also prevails a low standard of industrial conditions. The advocate of political action by the American trade-union cites the example of those organizations in Europe which by their activity in political affairs have compelled the enactment of much "reform" legislation, meanwhile ignoring the more important point that in their devotion to these measures the organizations in question have abandoned all concern for the immediate and primary conditions of labor. To this the opponents of political action reply by citing the record of the American trade-union in the matter of increasing wages, reducing the length of the workday and numerous other improvements in the conditions under which labor is performed—improvements unknown to the European worker or known to him only in his dreams of political regeneration—and which make more immediately and more fundamentally toward the comfort and independence of the individual worker than any political or legislative measure can possibly do. In principle there is little or no difference between the public and the private measure of social or domestic reform; the principle in each case is essentially eleemosynary; the ultimate effect to be anticipated in each case is the same. The workers who regard with suspicion the philanthropy of the individual employer may, and in fact do, regard with equal distrust the philanthropy of the government, inspired, as both systems are, by the same mistaken conception of the workers' real needs and by the same disposition to overlook the causes of poverty and degradation, and having the same significance in the sum of things. The fact that these measures of public philanthropy are secured through the agency of the workers' organizations does not alter their character, does not make them more palatable nor redeem them in any degree from the error upon which they are based. That fact merely commits the labor organization to responsibility for the false conception of the principles of industrial reform, and to that extent weakens the labor organization in the esteem of those who should, and who in the end must, depend upon it for any real and permanent redress.

The Battersea platform declares for certain social or public reforms as the primary and essential objects of the body supporting it; whereas, the platform of the American Federation of Labor, in declaring for similar objects, also declares that these are secondary and incidental to the real business of trade-unionism. This differ-

ence of conception regarding the fundamental purpose of the platform leads the Battersea trade-unionists into politics and keeps the American trade-unionists within the sphere of trade-unionism. The immediate result of this difference is seen in the difference between the political club and the trade-union; its final result is seen in the difference between the poorly organized condition of the workers in London and the well organized condition of the workers in the average American city.

It is apparent that the comparative lack of trade-union interest among the London workers is the effect of undue political activity on the part of those already organized or their representatives. The statement that every prominent labor man in London regards official position in his union as the "natural stepping-stone" to political office contains in itself ample explanation of a lack of interest in trade-unionism. The trade-union official who seeks political office is the bane of the labor movement. The trade-union which adopts the policy of political action makes political ambition inevitable on the part of its officials. Devotion to the proper business of trade-unionism on the part of its representatives is essential to the success of a trade-union, as it is essential to the respect and confidence of its members and their fellow-craftsmen. It follows, of course, that the trade-union which would secure and retain the services of efficient and devoted men must guard against imposing upon its officers any duties or obligations of a political nature.

There can be no intermediate form of organization between the trade-union and the political club. No form of organization can combine trade-unionism and politics. The trade-union can not "go into politics" and remain a trade-union; if it would remain a trade-union it must keep out of politics; if it takes political action it must become to all intents and purposes a political body. The trade-union, by strict adherence to its proper functions, may raise wages, shorten the workday and effect numerous other improvements in the conditions of labor; but, in the view of those who insist upon political action, these results are, after all, merely "palliatives," unworthy the dignity and deserts of the sovereign masses, and not to be compared with the beneficent and wholesale reforms obtainable by the simple process of organizing for one great "strike at the ballot-box"! Even admitting the power of the government to accomplish these ends,

the condition precedent to the exercise of that power, namely, practical unanimity among the workers upon questions of political principle and policy, is an impossibility, a fact of which the advocates of political action are themselves a sufficient proof, since dissension and division are notoriously the common features of their political activities. The only point upon which there is any unanimity among the men who hold these views is that of hostility, overt or covert, to trade-unionism. The adoption of political action by the trade-unions by removing the only ground of common agreement among their critics, within the labor movement, would inevitably result in splitting the latter into as many parties or factions as there are men in that movement ambitious of leadership and capable of commanding a following.

The proponents of political action hold that labor's wrongs arise from a two-fold source, industrial and political; that the organization of labor, to be fully effective, must use the political weapon of the ballot as well as, and in preference to, the economic weapon of the strike; that the effort to reform the conditions of labor by economic methods exclusively is a failure, and that the trade-union, being already well established in the field of economic effort, should enter the political field.

The opponents of political action take the ground that political matters can be dealt with only by political organizations; that labor organizations, to be effective at all, must confine themselves to labor matters; that the purely economic policy of the trade-unions, so far from being a failure, is a success the proofs of which are visible in every step of the workers' progress, and that the trade-union which enters the political field simply sacrifices whatever immediate good it may be capable of, without accomplishing anything of promise for the future.

The records of the labor movement contain numerous instances of failure and destruction directly traceable to intervention in political affairs, while they contain no instance of real and permanent advantage due to that cause. This record, while generally admitted by those who favor political action, is variously ascribed to party blunder and individual dishonesty, causes which, it would seem, are very largely inherent in the nature of the subject. At any rate, the facts go to prove that the mere talk of organizing the workers so that

they shall "vote as one man" is dangerous to the trade-union which indulges in it. Wherever talk of that kind has reached the point of realization it has resulted in undermining the spirit of unity, upon which, more than upon mere numbers, the trade-union must depend in those tests of physical endurance and personal loyalty to which it must inevitably be subjected.

There can be no gainsaying the wisdom of the policy adopted and adhered to by the American Federation of Labor and other successful labor organizations, namely, the exclusion from the affairs of trade-unionism of all matters upon which men are more inclined to divide than to unite. The trade-union grows out of the trade interest; so long as it is controlled by that interest it is a body whose elements are cohesive and whose power is concentrated. The trade-union controlled otherwise than by the immediate interests of its members is a mass of incongruous elements, without power, precision or permanency. The trade-union which is organized upon the basis of common agreement among the workers concerning the conditions of labor in a given industry, and which adheres to that basis, is capable of improving these conditions to an extent proportioned mainly to its own numbers, intelligence and devotedness. In the end it is improvement of this kind that tells in the progress of labor generally. The prime usefulness of the trade-union consists not in the power to elect public officials or to secure legislation, but in the power to improve the immediate and personal conditions under which labor is performed, to increase wages, to reduce hours, to make "shop rules," to maintain a measure of equality in the terms of contract between employer and employee, to interpose an alleviating influence between master and man, and generally to do those things which only a trade-union can do, which the trade-union must do if they are to be done at all.

The fundamental error upon which political action is based consists in crediting government with the power to solve the problems that now affect the relations between employer and employee. So long as the people exercise the controlling influence in government, the wisdom of the latter can not rise above that of the people themselves, nor can its powers exceed those delegated to it by the people. Upon the theory that lies at the root of a government of limited powers, to wit, that in the people resides the source of all authority,

it is obvious that no government can be wise enough or strong enough to do for its constituents that which the latter are not wise enough or strong enough to do for themselves. To question these principles is to question the power—nay, the right—of the people to govern themselves. The theory of governmental control in the industrial relations of the people, while logical enough in its origin—that is, in European conceptions of government—is directly opposed to the genius of American institutions. Precisely as the American citizen leads in the political conception of government, as an agency restricted to the performance of certain more or less clearly defined functions of a public nature so the American worker leads in the industrial conception of trade-unionism, as an agency which, both of right and of necessity, must discharge the functions appertaining to the industrial phase of society.

The psychological basis of the sentiment for political action is to be found in that intellectual despair to which all men are momentarily subject in their treatment of problems which press for solution but which defy all known formulas. Where instinct commands and reason fails the disposition to appeal to extrinsic sources of aid becomes strong. The attitude of the American trade-unionist is that of appeal to the spirit of independence and to a realization of the truth that the workers are themselves the sole repository of power to better their lot.

The solemn lesson of history, to-day and every day of our lives, is that the workers must depend upon themselves for the improvement of the conditions of labor. Their power inheres in labor, not in the ballot; it is the power to produce, and, in the last analysis, the power to stop production. To conserve and concentrate that power is the first and last duty of trade-unionism. The forces that dominate society are physical, not intellectual. The labor problem cannot be solved by rule and formula; it can only be solved through constant labor and more or less continual suffering. You can not solve the labor problem by the ballot, nor by the bullet. As well might you try to appease hunger by the intellectual process of reading a menu or by the physical process of destroying the palate!

W. MACARTHUR.

San Francisco, Cal.

COMPULSORY STATE INSURANCE OF WORKINGMEN

The merits of a teleological institution, such as a system of compulsory State insurance of labor undoubtedly is, must be judged by the degree of its success in accomplishing the results aimed at. A certain agreement as to the final aim is therefore necessary for an intelligent and fruitful discussion of the subject. The purpose of labor insurance is a very definite one. It is not expected to solve the "social problem in its entirety," insofar as this problem embraces the whole question of equitable distribution of wealth and a harmonious development of society towards higher forms of organization. Labor insurance, or rather, insurance of workingmen, is in many respects no different from all the other forms of insurance—it is an effort to substitute a social guarantee against the results of emergencies and accidents for the purely personal responsibility which is still the rule in many countries.

Now, for that very reason, any system of labor insurance is violently objected to by many. If one prefers individual responsibility to a social guarantee, whatever his argument, he will necessarily object most strenuously to a system of compulsory State insurance, for the more complete and efficient the system, the more objectionable will it seem to him. The limits of this paper do not permit an exhaustive discussion of the comparative merits of labor insurance and saving, which is the only alternative of provision against the emergencies of the future. It may briefly be indicated, however, that in no other branch of insurance has the alternative of saving ever been seriously insisted upon. Think what this principle would lead to in the domain of fire, marine or any other form of insurance. The modern business man prefers to insure himself against the effects of a possible burglary, or even against the fluctuation of the markets. This has always been pointed out as evidence of the greatest and most commendable prudence. The increase of frequency of conflagrations or burglaries or shipwrecks, even if it could be easily proven to be the result of them, could never be seriously used as an argument against the various forms of insurance.

Yet it cannot be denied that the workingman is much more liable to meet with adversity than the comfortable home of a well-to-do man is to go up in smoke and flame. Sickness, death, accident, sudden unemployment—all these stare into the face of each and every workingman. Old age, with accompanying incapacity to work, is the inevitable fate of him whose only means of existence is his labor power, and then only if wanted by the employer of labor. To claim that any considerable degree of saving is possible for the mass of the wage workers is to claim that the average wage of an American worker is much too high for the satisfaction of his legitimate immediate wants—an optimistic view of which the most partisan crier for prosperity is but seldom guilty. And even if such saving were possible, where is the guarantee against all these emergencies (sickness, death, accidental injury), if they occur before the necessary savings have been accumulated? It may be well to prepare oneself for the "rainy day," but will the "rainy day" delay its coming until one is prepared?

The claim has recently been made by a trained economist and sociologist,¹ that saving (*i. e.*, a purely individual guarantee) is a much higher, more efficient and commendable method of gaining the security against possible emergencies, than insurance (*i. e.*, a social guarantee), and that only that form of insurance is commendable which is a modified form of saving. This view is not infrequently met with among American economists, notwithstanding the vast experience of Europe, which all points in the direction of insurance rather than savings. When this European experience is pointed out, the answer is invariably given that, no matter how successful in European countries, with their strongly bureaucratic administrations, State labor insurance is utterly at variance with the individualistic ideals of the American people. Things which are un-American to-day are very apt to become very much American to-morrow, however, as the social history of this country for the last fifty years teaches us, and the extreme individualism of the American people (a purely historic growth which has acquired in the eyes of some the appearance of almost generic immutability) has had its foundation very much weakened of late by the continuous attacks of perceptible social forces. If European experiences and figures can be best used

¹ Prof. J. H. Hamilton: "Savings and Saving Institutions."

to impress the general feasibility, practicability and usefulness of State insurance, American experiences and statistics are perfectly sufficient to break down the defense of inadaptability to local conditions and our national psychology. In the magnificent building for Social Economics at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition may be found a small booth of a purely American insurance company which makes a specialty of insurance of laborers, and only one branch of that—the least important one—insurance against death. The booth is decorated with statistical figures which bear directly upon the problem under discussion. The 13,448,000 industrial insurance policies which are in force at the present time in the United States (as against 6,667,000 savings-bank accounts, only a smaller part of which probably belong to the wage-earning class of the country) bear strong evidence that the American wage worker, no less than his European brother, adheres to the principle of insurance and prefers a social guarantee to purely personal responsibility and "self-help."

This bit of social statistics may be used against the plan of well regulated State insurance. It may be claimed, and in fact it has been often claimed, that insofar as there is a demand for labor insurance, it has been or may be supplied by private initiative, and that introduction of the State into this undertaking would be an unnecessary and harmful extension of governmental activity in competition with private enterprise. It devolves upon us, therefore, to determine whether State or private insurance is the better, the more efficient, the more useful plan.

Judged simply by numerical results, the advantages of State insurance can hardly be overestimated. A comparison of German insurance statistics with the meager data obtainable in this country leaves an impression which is hardly in favor of this country. According to the latest data² "the following number of working persons have enjoyed the benefits of: 1. Sick insurance—3,617,022 sick persons (with 66,652,488 sick days) with 163,400,000 marks indemnity (sickness, death-money, as well as cost of medical attendance); 2. Accident insurance—585,596 wounded, 12,128 married women, 26,612 children, 256 parents (as dependent upon the wounded being cared for in hospitals), 53,481 widows, 87,035 children, 3,147 parents

² Official catalogue of the exhibition of the German Empire at the International Exposition, St. Louis, 1904. P. 342. The English of the original is faithfully followed.

(of deceased)—total, 768,255 persons, with 100,000,000 marks indemnity; 3. Invalid insurance—549,000 invalid pensions amounting to 66,300,000 marks, 203,000 old age pensions amounting to 24,700,000 marks; total number of pensions, 752,000, amounting to 91,000,000 marks; 191,000 persons with 6,900,000 refunded; 33,000 persons in medical treatment with 7,100,000 marks, total, 976,000 persons with 105,000,000 marks indemnity."

"From the above statement it will be seen that in one year over five million persons in need of help received about 370,000,000 marks." "Help" is rather an unfortunate word, smacking of charity. Over five million people received a social indemnity for individual accidents and mishaps. What has the United States to show as against this tremendous record?

There are no figures. As was recently shown by the writer elsewhere,³ instead of sickness insurance we have medical charity with all its harmful results, instead of accident insurance a series of common law doctrines which make the employer's responsibility for injury almost a myth, and instead of life and death insurance "the tremendous system of exploitation of the poorest and neediest which goes by the name of industrial insurance."

"We have in the United States labor insurance by unions, which are financially weak and in which all the burden falls upon the workers themselves. We have insurance by small private companies whose object is gain, whose financial standing is doubtful, and whose methods are often dishonest because of lack of control. And, finally, we have insurance by employers, which, applying only to a few employees, is probably accounted for in the difference of wages."

Experience, therefore, corroborates the conclusions of *a priori* reasoning that nothing short of compulsory insurance can make the benefits of insurance universal. A study of European statistics will clearly indicate this deduction—that the less compulsory a system of insurance is, the fewer people partake of its benefits.

Here we have the most powerful argument in favor of a system of compulsory State insurance. The advantages of universal insurance are not only quantitative, in that it bestows the benefits of insurance upon everybody instead of the selected few, but also qualitative, as we shall presently see. Here again a few "first principles"

³ Journal of Political Economy, June, 1904. P. 379.

must be enunciated. The writer takes the standpoint that it is the condition of employees, and not of American employers, that calls for corrective measures. That, he imagines, is pretty well agreed upon by the modern, progressive American economist. It seems clear, therefore, that the burden of labor insurance must not lie too heavily upon the wage workers of the country. "The escape from future suffering must not, if possible, be provided at the expense of a perceptible reduction of present happiness, of which the average workingman's stock is by no means any too large." An efficient system of labor insurance must not be a burden to the workingman, and from the standpoint of the latter that system will be most efficient, the weight of which will be felt least by him. Socially, the expenses of labor insurance can in no way be considered an element of cost while it represents a legitimate claim upon the value of the product, just as fire or marine insurance does. And if this claim cause a disturbance in the existing process of "normal distribution," it is certainly desirable that this new claim should not be shifted upon the portion the workingman had received. In other words, the "cost" of labor insurance should fall upon the employer. Of course each system of State labor insurance endeavors to meet this just demand by enforcing contributions from the employers. Yet, even if the employer be forced to pay all the expenses of labor insurance (which no system of labor insurance at present requires), will the burden be shifted upon the workingman and react upon his wages if the system should embrace only a portion of the wage earners instead of the whole class; for where the advantages of labor insurance are granted only to a limited group, a certain mobility of labor will act as a ready corrective in adjusting wages.⁴ And universal insurance can only mean compulsory insurance—that is, compulsory by the State. For a system of insurance may come under the definition of "State insurance," as, for instance, the case with the German *Krankenversicherung*, the actual work of which is done by co-operative organization under voluntary control. State insurance need not necessarily mean that the actual work of detail be done by bureaucratic organization. The compulsion, regulation and control are the necessary factors.

To quote again from a previous study, "Proceeding from the

⁴ For a fuller discussion of what the writer has called "the incidence of labor insurance" see the article quoted in the *Journal of Political Economy*.

assumption that the incidence upon profits is the more desirable one, we see that such incidence is less open to question where the employer pays the premium rather than the employee." The necessity for such contribution is hardly questioned by this time in Germany. In America the fear of such contributions is the prime force of the opposition to any system of labor insurance. Yet, if labor insurance be intended to do away with degrading medical charity, with tedious damage suits, and with poor- and workhouses, the justice of such contributions from the industry and assistance from the State will appear as self-evident and legitimate as is at present the appropriation for charities and corrections. Any equitable distribution of the expenses of insurance, based either upon the paying ability or the responsibility for diseases, accidents, invalidity and fatalities, must include the employer. This can be accomplished only through some system of State insurance.

Moreover, if some system of universal labor insurance be acknowledged necessary, it can easily be shown that State insurance is the cheapest and most economical system in comparison with the results accomplished. Not only can a system of collection of contributions be best organized and cheapest, but a great many other economies may be introduced. Private insurance is a business, and as well as any other business exists for profit. But any justification for profit is here utterly lacking. The business of insurance is not a productive business; it is simply a process of distribution. The highest business genius, the best management cannot add any increment of value, no matter what theory of value we advocate. As a machine for the transformation of heat into active energy is judged by the percentage of loss of energy, so an insurance organization must be judged by the relation of its business expenses and profits to the sum total of money received. The only virtue, the only social service private insurance business can lay claim to is the process of "soliciting business," of spreading the advantages over larger and larger areas; but that can be done at one stroke by a legislative enactment. As a basis of comparison between the expenses of State and private insurance we have our American system of "industrial insurance" as against the German system. Now, it is a well-known fact that the very process of collection, the moving of premiums from the pockets of the insured into the general treasury consumes from 20 to 25 per

cent. of the premiums.⁵ This does not take into consideration the enormous expenses of the vast administrative machinery, central as well as local, salaries, rent, etc. With the high commission the agents are a set of miserably underpaid fellows, for a needlessly large force of agents is kept, in order to stimulate them towards writing "new business," on which the commission is very high. The work of collection scarcely demands more than two days' work through the week, so that the rest of the time may be devoted to soliciting. In other words, it is not a fair claim that the nature of the business and the character of the insured necessitate this high expense; it is not the material that causes so much friction, but the very organization of the machine, constructed with the view of increasing the business. The intelligent business or professional man, who gets the insurance policy under the very best conditions, to whom insurance is often a most profitable investment, has no conception of the peculiar conditions of an industrial insurance policy.

Our case for compulsory State insurance may be summed up in the following few statements:

1. The economic condition of the wage earner is such as to provide no guarantee against poverty and destitution in case of injury, sickness, or loss of work.
2. Individual saving cannot be relied upon to correct this evil, and some sort of insurance becomes necessary.
3. Unless insurance be universal it will react heavily upon the finances of the workingman.
4. To be universal the system of insurance must be enforced and controlled by the State; that is, it must be a system of compulsory State insurance.
5. A well regulated system of State insurance must be more economical and efficient than private insurance systems.

As against these advantages many arguments are brought against State insurance of labor, both from theoretical considerations as well as from the practical study of the insurance results. It will be worth while to examine these arguments.

It may be said that (1) labor insurance represents an unwarranted

⁵ The collecting agent usually receives 15 per cent., or even 20 per cent. The ability of investing the funds is here not taken into consideration, for it is of importance only in the "ordinary" branch of insurance, which approaches saving and is not available to the wage worker.

interference of the State with private industry, with the relations of capital and labor; (2) that it is an effort to abrogate the personal liberty of the employer and employee; (3) that its object is to create an unfair competition to the business of private insurance; and (4) that it is tantamount to a process of confiscation from the employer to the employee, and is, therefore, an obnoxious piece of class legislation. It is this line of argument that is made use of in the effort to show how perfectly un-American a system of "compulsory State insurance" would be.

Our views of the legitimate functions of government are undergoing very rapid changes just now. Beginning with the protective tariff and leading up to the "Oleomargarine law" and the efforts to pass the Merchant Marine Subsidy Act, the American State has often influenced conditions of private business. A system of well regulated sickness and accident insurance is no more an infringement upon personal liberty than an efficient employers' liability act would be; in fact, it is but a modified system of employers' liability, more efficient and less troublesome. And if it create a competition to private insurance, this competition would be an excellent test to determine how far this business of insurance is economically legitimate; *i. e.*, how far its profits are economically defensible, for a system of State insurance would not *eo ipso* destroy the private business. The economist has heard quite enough of this argument, we imagine, in connection with the projects of parcels post, postal savings banks, and the government ownership of telegraphs. And as to the personal liberty of the employee, we might place against it the interests and rights of the helpless wife and children, who are often left without the slightest provision for the immediate future. In short, we still have to hear of an argument which would represent anything more than the natural inertia against any departure from the old, complacent practice of non-interference.

An exception must surely be made in favor of the argument of excessive cost to the employers. Here we have a real social force whose opposition to an important social measure is at least well defined and easily understood.

In an extensive criticism of the German labor insurance law an American writer emphasizes this point:⁶ "The general effect of the

⁶ Henry W. Farnam, "The Psychology of German Workingmen's Insurance," *Yale Review*, May, 1904.

insurance law has been to permanently turn a certain stream of income from the pockets of the taxpayers and employers into the pockets of the wage receivers." The force of this statement as an argument against labor insurance will not appear self-evident to everybody, however. For it has truly been said⁷ that if compulsory labor insurance influences wages in the broad sense of the word, *i. e.*, influences the true returns to the laborers for his work—it is no different from the legislative regulation of the hours of labor, of sweating, child labor, etc. If the point be that wages have been influenced in the undesirable direction, it has to be shown that the wages in Germany are too high and the profits too low; that Germany is losing its hold on the international market. Whoever makes an effort to prove all that will have quite a difficult task on his hands. If the economic effects of labor insurance be such as this criticism indicates, one of the most serious economic objections to the system is thus removed; viz: that the cost of insurance, being an element in the cost of production, will be reflected in the price of the goods and thus the workingmen, as consumers, will return what gain they obtained as producers.

The author quoted, however, finds in the working system a series of highly harmful psychological effects. "Compulsory insurance has not filled the working classes with gratitude toward the government, since it was avowedly a measure aimed at the Social Democratic party and, therefore, regarded with suspicion, nor has it made the workingmen friendly and conciliatory toward the employers, since the burden of insurance is borne involuntarily by the latter. On the other hand, the effect of giving them allowances and help in time of trouble has apparently been to weaken the spirit of self-help, to increase the demands upon the public purse, and to make them less wise and responsible in their expenditure."

Surely the claims of novelty cannot be made in favor of these arguments. They are interesting, nevertheless, in showing that opposition to compulsory State insurance soon reduces itself to opposition to the very principle of labor insurance, with the wise pointing at savings as the real method. Yet no effort has ever been made to show that the system of private saving could accomplish those enormous economic and social results which labor insurance

⁷ Norbert Pinkus, "Workmen's Insurance in Germany," *Yale Review*, May, 1904.

evidently does. Opponents of labor insurance have not tired of putting forth that argument of increased carelessness, of the practice of deception for the last thirty years. It seems that by a process of natural selection this argument has survived all these years as the most weighty one, but the statistical basis of this claim will not stand the most superficial analysis. Where dozens of causes and factors have combined to increase the frequency of accidents, it is extremely hazardous to put forth the system of labor insurance as the only real factor. As well might we say that increase in ordinary life insurance is the cause of the growing number of suicides, and rail against life insurance; as well might we say that fire insurance has caused the Chicago, the Baltimore, and the East River horrors, and loudly advocate the abolition of fire insurance. Statistical evidence which is usually brought in support of this view shows nothing beside the mere fact that since the introduction of labor insurance in Germany—*i. e.*, during the last two decades—the number of accidents reported has increased. No more glaring example of the old fallacy, "*Post hoc, ergo propter hoc*," could be committed. The claim that labor insurance has been the main cause of the growth of German industry, of German exports, and of half a dozen other important social phenomena could be equally well established. In fine, has not the frequency of accident grown in countries that have no system of labor insurance as well? Let us look at the statistics of railway accidents in this country, for instance, where one out of each eleven trainmen is injured each year, and one out of each 130 is killed. Above all things, let us be fair and consistent, and let us not deny the over-worked workingman the same human right to an excusable degree of carelessness which even the men of leisure possess.

The assertion that compulsory labor insurance has not created gratitude toward the government and conciliation toward employers is to our view entirely beside the mark. Shorn of its oratorical flowers, it simply means that compulsory State insurance of labor has not sounded the death-knell to all other efforts of the wage workers toward their betterment. This, however, is not the proper function of labor insurance at all, no matter what the secret designs of a Bismarck may have been. That labor insurance might have such a result was certainly feared by the progressive German wage workers and their friends. Because of this fear the plan of labor insurance was

objected to by the German Social Democrats on one side and by advocates of trade-unionism, like L. Brentano, on the other. These fears have been shown to be unfounded. For that very reason the antagonism between the wage workers' political and economic organizations on one hand and labor insurance on the other has gradually vanished. German workingmen have long since found out, and the American workingmen may soon find out, that a legally enacted and controlled system of insurance against sickness, accident, invalidity, old age, and death, instead of competing with, actually supplements the work of their labor organizations. Schultze-Delitch's ideal of a trade-union as an organization for mutual charity has long since been thrown overboard. American as well as English unions sometimes still keep up some activity in that line, but they do it out of sheer necessity, as a workingman brought to destitution by an accident or disease may prove unsafe in his trade union-principles. It has been acknowledged by many practical employers, as well as the majority of American employees, that the trade-union is primarily a highly specialized machine for a very definite object—a machine for collective bargaining—a machine whose function it is to use all legitimate means to strike as good a bargain for its members as conditions will permit. Though as yet there is no concerted demand on the part of American-trade unionists for a system of compulsory State insurance, it can hardly be doubted that the plan would appeal to them if properly presented. It would greatly relieve the treasuries of those unions which have at present a system of sickness and accident benefits. With the transfer of the burden from the union to the State, the former would be better prepared to furnish the one kind of insurance that the unions are best able to grant—insurance against unemployment.

The various efforts to provide for some system of State insurance against unemployment have invariably failed, and this failure was in no sense accidental, but inherent in the very nature of the problem. Unemployment is rapidly becoming a more frequent cause of poverty than even sickness or accident.⁸ But a free supply of means of existence to a healthy worker would be detrimental to character. Besides, it would be perfectly idle to expect modern society to contri-

⁸ Prof. Farnam evidently forgets this break in the German system of insurance when he quotes statistics of poverty and charity as an evidence of the inefficiency of State insurance.

bute toward this support, when an army of unemployed is considered a necessary condition for the working out of "economic laws."

Nor could the ordinary unemployment be easily differentiated from voluntary unemployment, whether in its individual form of refusing anything less than the union wage or the social form of strikes. The basis of State insurance against unemployment must necessarily be assistance in case of absolute impossibility to obtain work for wages ever so small. The basis of trade-unionism is "No work for less than the standard wage." It is evident, therefore, that unless the State be ready to regulate *wages* it cannot conduct a system of unemployment insurance which would be satisfactory to the union worker. Assistance in case of unemployment, as out-of-work benefits as well as strike benefits, are the natural functions of the trade-union. But even outside of this consideration the relegation of all other forms of insurance to the State would in no way relieve the unions from any interest in the matter. The benefits of labor insurance will not accrue to a perfectly passive class of wage-earners. As Mr. Pinkus says: "Regulation of wages ought to, and indeed may, include besides the means of support, also the insurance premium for sickness, accident, invalidity, old age and lack of employment." The tendency to discount the value of the insurance from the wages will have to be actively contested; the honest execution of any insurance law must be actively guarded by the trade-unions. We may add that an efficient system of labor insurance will never be legally enacted—will never grow and develop without the active influence of trade-union votes. A short experience would easily convince the union worker that a well regulated system of compulsory State insurance of labor will prove of great assistance to the trade-unions in their struggle for the economic and social betterment of the American workingman.

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WOMAN'S PLACE IN INDUSTRY AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

This paper is about one-fourth of an unpublished monograph dealing in a comprehensive way with "The Effects of the Industrial Organization of Society on the Status of Woman."
—[THE EDITOR.]

Woman's Status in the Past.

Woman's status throughout the civilized world is different now from what it has been. This difference is not due to the special physical or mental merits suddenly discovered in her. And it is not because of her so-called increased industrial activity. From time immemorial woman has been an industrial producer. We have no accounts of the battles she has fought and won, no record of her inventions, discoveries or creation of new ideas and ideals, but nearly every parent industry calls her mother. As far as primitive history can be reconstructed, it was she who originated and fostered the peaceful arts of life. She it was who discovered the ability of labor. She, "the slave before the slave existed," laid the foundation of civilization, but, as regards her present industrial contributions, she compares most unfavorably with woman of old. In savage or barbarian society as food-bringer, weaver, skin-dresser, potter and burden-bearer, she was the acknowledged economic factor. In the words of a Chippawayan chief, "Women are made to labor, one of them can carry or haul as much as two men can do. They also pitch our tents, make and mend our clothing * * * and in fact, there is no such thing as traveling any considerable distance in this country without their assistance." ¹

In Greece and Rome woman's function as slave or supervisor of slaves was generally recognized. This is true all through the Mediæval Ages. "Her duties were so manifold that a conscientious housewife had to be at her post from early in the morning till late at night to fulfill them, and even then it was only possible to do so with the help of her daughters. * * * She had to spin, weave and bleach, to make all the linen and clothes, to boil soap and make candles and brew beer. In addition to these occupations she fre-

¹ Spencer: "Principles of Sociology," vol. ii, p. 727.

quently had to work in the fields and the garden and to attend to the poultry and cattle. In short, she was a veritable Cinderella, and her solitary recreation was going to church on Sunday."²

While woman's labor was thus very much in demand hitherto, at present, when organized industry displaces domestic work, men would only be too glad to do away with her industrial activity altogether. They claim the ability to produce all the necessities of life conducive even to a higher standard of living than is possible at a time when women competitors crowd the factories, shops, offices, schools, and so forth.

Woman's present status is not due to her increased physical, mental or industrial importance as compared with that of man. Is it due to his increased chivalry, charity, generosity, liberality or effeminacy? Perhaps. But the majority of men, whom we cannot by any means deny to be possessed of most of those attributes, are sincerely and intensely hostile to the so-called woman's movement. They do all they possibly can to check and hinder her advance. They give also very plausible reasons why woman should not go beyond her "sphere" determined by natural instincts, traditional and universal custom, etc. And yet, whether or not men's claims and protests are fair, just and expedient, the fact is that they are being respectfully ignored.

Within the last century woman has almost revolutionized society as far as it concerns herself individually. As late as 1789 the situation of woman in France reaffirmed the triumph of the traditional idea of her inferiority and the necessary subordination. Rich or poor, women were equally removed from all public life, equally deprived of all the means to cultivate their intelligence. Those who had to earn their livelihood found it impossible because of their ignorance. In England, the publication of the "Vindication of the Rights of Woman" (1792) brought upon the author "torrents of the vilest abuse." She was "denounced as a social outcast." "A philosophizing serpent," Horace Walpole politely called her. In the United States "up to 1848 the condition of married women under the law was nearly as degraded as that of the slave on the plantation!"³ To-day, the industrial, educational, professional, social, legal, every

² Bebel: "Woman in the Past, Present and Future," p. 40.

³ Chauvin, Jeanne: "Les Professions Accessibles aux Femmes," p. 188.

one except the political, status of woman in those countries, is surprisingly high.

This great and rapid change cannot of course be accounted for by any single reason. Ages of human experience in theory and practice were necessary to enable both men and women not only to develop, but also to accept, the new condition. As in all other movements in human history the various influences and causes leading to a great social upheaval combine ultimately into one great force or principle which becomes the moving spirit in transforming an entire social system, so in the woman's movement the same law prevailed. Woman has early learned "to labor and to wait." But when the time had come for the recognition of the "feminine element" in the progress of civilization, women without concert of action, unknown to each other in every civilized country began, directly or indirectly, to demand a broader sphere, direct representation in society and the State. Lady Montague, Abigail Smith Adams, Mary Wolstoncraft, Harriet Martineau, Mme. Stael, Mme. Rolland, George Sand, Mme. D'Herricourt, Margaret Fuller, Elizabeth C. Stanton and others, in as many different ways, demanded the same thing. Aware of the necessity and the rightfulness of this demand woman has taken her "cause" in her own hands. And, whether or not men approve of it, whether or not her personal happiness is thereby increased, woman is bound to demand her "rights" and public opinion must sanction it. The condition in the modern organization of society makes it unavoidable.

Conditions Favoring a Rise in Woman's Status.

The argument for a woman's "sphere" may continue to be advocated by a certain type of men and women, too, but the question itself becomes less important as society conceives its *raison d'être* to be neither military nor religious nor any other purpose but the well-being of its constituent, individual members. In a democratic society of this kind, where individuals have their choice in selecting vocations and the power to determine social values, they will naturally demand and receive their desired place in society. We see this idea realizing itself in the growing demands and gains of men since they became independent individuals, instead of being the property of or belonging to a state, an individual or a group of individuals. As

long as men fought or worked for a chief, a king, an emperor, a lord on earth or served professionally a King in Heaven, they also stood in successive grades of subordination. For it was not society including themselves that determined men's position in the world. "*L'etat, c'est moi*" is the well-known motto of kings, and the same is carried out in the hierarchy of the Church. "By the grace of the Lord, the King, is a man high or low." Similar was the case of woman, but, of course, in a more complex form, since she was a subject's subject as well as an object of his emotions. As long as the father or husband was the sole employer there could be no question of social remuneration. A woman worked for a private man who paid her "in kind," according to the dictates of his caprice, "finer sentiments," or reasonableness. There was practically no society or state for her apart from the man she happened to belong to. She did not work for society and, therefore, had no place in it, except as a man's property or protégé.⁴ In the exceptional cases, where she was supposed to serve the State, as in Sparta and in Plato's Republic, she was given a very high position.

But as soon as woman entered the factory, she became not only a social producer, but also an independent worker; *i. e.*, her work had to be paid for at a definite rate, otherwise she could leave one employer for another. She now came into contact, moreover, with a new order of man, the strange employer who was emotionally indifferent to her, who had no claims over her, either as father, husband, or master, except as a wage-payer. He had no special reason to suppress or subject her. Individual skill had to be acknowledged. Of course he met a very humble, submissive, ignorant, non-resisting creature and he took full advantage of these "feminine virtues" in cutting down her wages to the lowest point possible. "The mass of women had neither power nor wish to protest, and thus the few traces we find of their earliest connection with labor show us that they accepted a bare subsistence as all to which they were entitled, and were grateful if they escaped the beating which the lower order of Englishmen still regards it as his right to give!"⁵ The employers' cruel treatment of women and their followers, the children, the conflict between the employers and the workingmen over

⁴ Johnson's Cyclopaedia: p. 612.

⁵ Campbell. Helen: "Women Wage-Earners," p. 52

woman's employment and the fact that women were now social producers forced society to interfere in their behalf by means of legislation.

On the other hand, since the Industrial Revolution has taken place, the State, in the progressive countries, is ever more assuming the characteristics of an industrial organization. We may call it a limited monarchy, a republic or a political democracy; but its essential, its dominant interests are industry, and its concomitants, trade and commerce on an international scale. In their external relations the leading modern States are bent upon extending their economic activities through treaty right and acquisition of territory as markets. Internally their legislatures are largely busying themselves with the adjustment or the regulation of economic interests. "The past twenty-five years have been a period of incessant activity by legislatures and courts in prescribing the duties and limiting the powers and privileges of railway and express companies, telegraph companies, industrial combinations and trusts."⁶ The warrior and the clergyman are still present. But military force is a last resort, when other diplomatic means fail to secure commercial privileges; whereas, the Church, incorporated religion, is a private affair which may or may not be supported by individuals or groups of individuals. The captain of industry and the ethical teacher are gradually taking the place of the soldier and the theological teacher, respectively. Both have a place for woman's activity. One has given her a chance to become economically independent, the other, the moral motive "that makes for largeness of conscious life," the belief "that many things can be made better than they are at present and that life in many ways can be made more desirable."

The conditions in modern society favorable to a rise of woman's status are chiefly these: the opportunities for economic independence and direct service to society; the chances that man, the educator, the employer, and the legislator, may judge her rationally instead of emotionally as heretofore the father and the husband did; the decreasing importance of man as a military power, thus in a sense equalizing the social value of men and women; and the modern ethics advocating an increase of human happiness in this world rather than in some other one. Here woman is specially fit to do something.

⁶ Prof. Giddings. "Democracy and Empire," p. 108.

Industrial Activity of Women.

Economic writers generally explain woman's entrance into industry as a "wonder" of the age. Machinery, necessity, starvation or its extreme opposite "love of luxury" are given as chief causes. The fact that woman is only following her old pursuits while sharing in the general expansion of industry is rarely if ever, emphasized. She is regarded as usurping man's place, whereas in reality "the spirit of the living creature in the wheels of machinery is the genius of industrialism originated and fostered by women."⁷ What this industrial age has effected is not woman's entrance into industry, but the social recognition that woman is an independent, economic factor as distinguished from a domestic worker. Writes Carroll D. Wright: "It cannot be said that women and children constituted an economic factor during the colonial days. Their labor was not in demand except in a domestic sense, to any great extent."⁸ "But their (women's) more extended employment as independent wage-workers dates practically from the period between 1815 to 1830. They followed the textile industries from the household into the factories and the consolidation of industry in large establishments instead of small individual shops, broadened the field and gave women opportunities of entering independently in the gainful pursuits * * * which they gladly embraced."⁹ Under the new conditions, "it is evident," says John A. Hobson, "that many forces are at work which tend to equalize the productivity of men and women in industry, the evolution of machinery adapted to the weaker physique of women; the breakdown of customs excluding women from many occupations; the growth of restrictions upon male adult labor with regard to their working day, etc., correspondent with those placed upon women; improved mobility of woman's labor by cheaper and more facile transport in large cities; the recognition of a growing number of women that matrimony is not the only livelihood open to them, but that an industrial life is preferable and possible."¹⁰

The proof of the economic value of women's industrial productivity is undoubtedly given by the fact that their numbers in all industries are steadily increasing. If their work did not pay, em-

⁷ Mason, Otis: "Woman's Share in Primitive Culture," p. 4.

⁸ Wright, Carroll D.: "Industrial Evolution of the United States," p. 200.

⁹ Wright: p. 202.

¹⁰ Hobson: "Evolution of Modern Capitalism," p. 304.

ployers would certainly not admit them. In England, according to Mr. Hobson, during the half century 1841 and 1891, the number of women engaged in manufactures has increased by 221 per cent., while that of men increased by 53 per cent. "But the movement," he adds, "is by no means peculiar to the textile and dress industries which may appear specially adapted to the faculties of women. Wherever women have got a firm footing in a manufacture a similar movement is traceable; the relative rate of increase in the employment of women exceeds that of men, even where the numbers of the latter do not show an absolute decline. Such industries are, wood furniture and carriages; painting and bookbinding; paper, floorcloths, feathers, leather, glues; food, drink, smoking; earthenware, machinery, tools. Women have also obtained employment in connection with other industries which are still in the main 'male' industries, and in which no women or very few were engaged in 1841. Such are fuel, gas, chemicals; watches, instruments, toys. The only group of machine industries in which their numbers have not increased more rapidly than those of men since 1851 are the metal industries. Over some of these, however, they are obtaining an increased hold. In the more mechanical portions of the growing 'cycle' of industry, hollow-ware and in certain departments of the watch-making trade they are ousting male labor, executing with machinery the work formerly done by male hand-workers."¹¹

The following table, taken from the Twelfth Census of the United States, shows the general progress of American women in all gainful occupations, since 1880, as compared with that of men:

	1900		1890		1880	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
All occupations, Males	23,754,205	100	18,821,090	100	14,744,942	100
Females	5,319,912	100	3,914,571	100	2,647,157	100
Agricultural Pursuits, Males	9,404,429	39.6	7,887,042	41.9	7,119,365	48.3
Females	977,336	18.4	678,884	17.3	594,510	22.5
Professional Service, Males	828,163	3.5	632,646	3.4	425,947	2.9
Females	430,576	8.1	311,687	8.0	177,255	6.7
Domestic and Personal Service, Males ..	3,485,208	14.7	2,553,161	13.6	2,242,309	15.2
Females	2,095,449	39.4	1,667,651	42.6	1,181,506	44.6
Trade and Transportation, Males	4,263,617	17.9	3,097,701	16.4	1,803,629	12.2
Females	503,397	9.4	228,421	5.8	62,852	2.4
Manuf. and Mechan. Pursuits, Males ..	5,772,788	24.3	4,650,540	24.7	3,153,692	21.4
Females	1,313,204	24.7	1,027,928	26.3	631,034	23.8

¹¹ Hobson, p. 295.

In the least "female" occupation, "trade and transportation," the percentage for women has increased from 2.4 vs. 12.2 for men in 1880 to 9.4 vs. 17.9 for men in 1900; while the percentage in the leading female occupation, "domestic and personal service," is gradually decreasing from 44.6 in 1880 to 42.6 in 1890, to 39.4 in 1900. "All the industries in the United States, and their variety is practically unlimited, were assigned," says Mr. Wright, "to one of three hundred and sixty-nine groups at the Census of 1890. An examination of the totals of these groups discloses the fact that in only nine of them are now women and children employed. Their employment, therefore, either as clerks, operatives or apprentices, may be considered universal. The apparent number of vocations in which women cannot engage is constantly diminishing and is now relatively very small."¹² This statement may be compared with one made in 1840 by Harriet Martineau, who found "only seven employments open to women: teaching, needlework, keeping boarders, working in cotton mills, type-setting, book-binding and domestic service."¹³

Women's Wages.

The growing appreciation of woman's work is indicated by a relative rise in wages. "The greatest percentage of gain in average wages in the cotton industries is in favor of the female employees."¹⁴ The average weekly earnings in cotton factories of New England for women in 1831 ranged from \$2.20 to \$2.60, and for men, from \$4.50 to \$7.00. For women in 1880 it was \$6.37, and for men, \$9.05. In the same industry for the entire United States the average weekly wage for women in 1890 was \$5.53, ranging from \$3.21 to \$6.42. For men in 1890 it was \$7.75, ranging from \$5.17 to \$10.44. "In 1831 men's wage was twice as great as women's; in 1880 it was less than one-third greater. Between 1831 and 1880 men's wages had increased 38 per cent.; woman's, 149 per cent. * * * A careful examination of the actual earnings of women discloses the fact that in many industries their average earnings equal or exceed the earnings of men. This is especially true of the piece workers."¹⁵ In general, however, it must be said that woman's wages as compared with man's is considerably lower. But this is easily explained, when we

¹² Wright, p. 209.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

consider the fact that "she has stepped out of industrial subjection and come into the industrial system as an entirely new economic factor. If there were no other reasons this alone would be sufficient to keep her wages low and prevent their very rapid increase."¹⁶

Women in Labor Organizations.

Professor Mason, in his book on "Woman's Share in Primitive Culture," devotes a chapter to woman as a Jack-at-all-Trades, and remarks that in the entire course of human history the combination of abilities in one woman stands in sharp contrast with the co-operation of many individuals at one duty or activity among men. "In co-operation," he says, "women have always been weak. There are few duties that they have in common. Even as beasts of burden they seldom worked in pairs."¹⁷ Unless we can realize what must be the effect of centuries of isolated work we can hardly explain the ill-success of women's trade-unionism, nor appreciate the progress already made by women in co-operating with one another for various other purposes. "In industry women, as a class, are just beginning to understand the power and the force which come from organization,"¹⁸ says Mr. Wright. This is true; but woman's entrance into labor-unions took place before she became conscious of her "class."

The employers' persistence in keeping women at the trades, wherever wages could be saved, and the workingmen's conviction that they must either leave their trades or admit women to their unions was the real cause of women's first connection with unionism. There was, of course, a strong opposition. "The eighteenth century trade clubs of hatters, basketmakers or compositors would have instantly struck against any attempt to put a woman to any part of their craft." The intensity of resentment and abhorrence with which the average workingman regards the idea of woman entering his trade equals that displayed by the medical practitioner of the last generation."¹⁹ The Lancashire weavers alone never made any sex distinctions. The various organizations of weavers have from the introduction of the power-loom included women on the same terms as men.

¹⁶ Wright, p. 212.

¹⁷ Mason, p. 160.

¹⁸ Wright, p. 213.

¹⁹ Webb, p. 496. ("Industrial Democracy.")

The typical status of woman in the "male" occupations may be illustrated by the following resolution passed by the London society of compositors, 1886: "While strongly of opinion that women are not physically capable of performing the duties of a compositor, this conference recommends their admission to membership of the various Typographical Unions upon the same conditions as journeymen, provided always the females are paid strictly in accordance with scale."²⁰ The standard rate practically excludes sex competition, while it does not debar a woman from a man's work, provided she wins her way "by capacity not by underbidding."

In Germany, the workingmen for a long time believed that the employment of women could be restricted. "But, in spite of all efforts of restriction, the employment of women increased constantly until five and a half millions, according to the Census of 1882, were wage-earners. * * * Then only did the workingmen realize that women workers were no longer a factor to be neglected, and that equal duties towards society gave them equal rights. At their *Parteitag* or Annual Congress held at Halle in 1890, the Social Democrats therefore passed a resolution demanding the full equality of the sexes in the State and society; and the next year at Brussels, the International Socialists' Congress adopted the same resolution unanimously. After 1892 women were permitted to choose delegates to the Annual Congress and now the members of the workingwomen's association are an integral factor of the Social Democratic Party."²¹

In the United States, the Knights of Labor and the Granger associations of the Western Farmers have been very liberal in the admission of women. The Western Farmers formulated (1870) "a principle" that no Grange should be organized or exist without women. The more conservative men, too, began about 1884 to receive women in their unions. The rapid advance here made is evident in the United Garment Workers' Union. "In its establishment (1891) women bore no part, either directly or indirectly," says Miss Hurd. "In April, 1902, the union was composed of 179 local bodies, of which 83 admitted men only, while 96 were made up either exclusively of women or of both men and women."²² Their number of delegates at the conventions increased from 2 out of 53 in 1894 to 18 out of 56

²⁰ Webb, p. 500.

²¹ Russell, Alys.: "Social Democracy and the Woman Question in Germany," pp. 187-8.

²² Hurd, p. 168.

in 1900 and 23 out of 88 in 1901.²³ "An interesting phase of the changing attitude of women toward unions is revealed," says John Mitchell, "by the action of the Chicago Federation of Teachers. The teachers of Chicago, recognizing that they were wage-earners and realizing the similarity of their aims and ideals with those of the great body of trade-unionists, threw their fortunes in with their fellow-workers and became affiliated with the Chicago Federation of Labor." That woman as a factor in organized labor is considered important, the words of the most prominent labor-leader of to-day amply testifies: "The future will undoubtedly show a vast strengthening of the labor movement through the compact organization of the women employed in American industries."²⁴

New York City

SOPHIE YUDELSON

²³ Hurd, p. 169.

²⁴ Mitchell: "Organized Labor," p. 135.

COMMUNICATION

STREET RAILWAYS IN PHILADELPHIA SINCE 1900

In order to understand the recent developments in the street railway situation in Philadelphia, it will be necessary to review the peculiar conditions which existed a few years ago. The development of the city has been along unusual lines—a glance at the map will show that in a north and south direction the city is from fourteen to eighteen miles long, while in an east and west direction the city limits extend only six miles from the Delaware River.

Several causes can be assigned for this peculiar and unusual phenomenon: in the first place it has been only a comparatively short time since the Schuylkill River was spanned with bridges capable of fulfilling modern requirements; again, the poor transportation facilities existing until the introduction of electricity forced the merchants and their employees to live close to the Delaware, along which stretched the manufacturing and mercantile district. As a consequence, the growth towards the north has been unnaturally great and only during the past decade has the movement towards the west been at all rapid.

Ten years ago a change of cars was necessary to travel the six miles to Sixty-third and Market Streets, while at the same time one could ride three times as far, without a change, on a number of lines running north and south. Another fact to be noticed is that the numbered streets were very generally occupied by car tracks before 1893, while those running east and west were not so generally in use.

In 1895 the Union Traction Company had been formed for the purpose of leasing and controlling every road in the city. Scarcely had this been accomplished when the new company, confident in the security of its monopoly, abolished the free transfers, and in other ways curtailed the privileges which the public had come to look upon as inviolable. Developments established the correctness of their conclusions for the angry protests brought forth no results, and in a short time the agitation for retaliatory measures died out entirely, the people seeming to be reconciled to the new conditions.

This was the situation when, in the early part of 1901, a plan was announced in the *Philadelphia North American*, which, if carried out, would destroy the monopoly which the Union Traction Company enjoyed. The Johnson syndicate, composed of Tom L. and Albert, who had amassed a fortune and made themselves famous by their street car lines in Cleveland, proposed constructing a network of street railways over the unoccupied streets of Philadelphia, the backbone of their system being a Broad Street surface line. This was designed to be the Philadelphia connection of their extensive system known as the Lehigh Valley Traction Company. They asked, however, for few lines running east and west, because they had no suburban lines in that direction. Their application to the City Councils for the necessary franchises, in which they promised to give the



people the most liberal service was opposed in the Councils by the Union Traction Company and the other existing transportation interests in the city.

The State Legislature, however, for reasons that have not been fully explained, was quite willing to pass laws giving away electric railway franchises. In the spring of 1901 two bills were introduced into the Pennsylvania Legislature known as the Emery and Focht Bills, which were rushed through the committees, given the necessary preliminary readings, and early in June were passed. Some of their important features are as follows: Senator Focht's bill is entitled "An act to provide for the incorporation and government of passenger railways, either elevated or underground, or partly elevated or partly underground; with surface rights." On its face the bill seems to limit the corporation to elevated or underground roads. Section 14 gives the right to operate connecting lines on any turnpike or turnpikes, which in addition to the right of eminent domain contained in section 7, it is believed, will permit the road to operate a continuous line on the surface of the property acquired under this grant and on the public turnpikes. It was provided that the capital stock shall not be less than \$50,000 for every mile of road to be constructed, and before articles of incorporation are filed at least \$25,000 of stock for every mile of road shall have been subscribed and 10 per cent. in cash paid to the directors. Section 6 permits the corporations to borrow money not to exceed the amount of capital stock authorized, and not equal to the cash capital paid in, as was provided in other acts. This would permit the unlimited issue of bonds with practically no cash outlay in stock. The Emery Bill, which amends the general act of 1889 and all local and special laws, is the enabling act and is broad in its scope. Under its provisions no street or boulevard is excepted, provided the City Councils see fit to grant the necessary franchise. One section provides for the forfeiture of the charter if the work is not begun within two years and completed within five years. One power granted under the act permits the corporation to sell its own franchise and road and acquire others by purchase, if it sees fit. This can even be so of corporations formed under other acts, there being no limitations to the right. An amendment adopted to the act forbids any company so incorporated from connecting its tracks with the tracks of any railroad company carrying both passengers and freight, or interchange of cars with any such company. This was added at the instance of the steam railroad companies who feared that otherwise their position might be seriously weakened.

Governor Stone signed these bills at midnight on June 7. At once there followed a great rush of charters for street railroad companies to operate surface, elevated or underground lines, as the case might be, not only in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, but also in Montgomery, Chester and Delaware Counties and many cities throughout the State. Each applicant understood that if he should be officially recognized as the first for the particular streets named in the application, he could, under the new law, exclude all others from obtaining a charter for those streets during the two years allowed for obtaining permission from the local authorities, and for seven years more, by obtaining the permission and going on with the work. Under such conditions, disputes arose as to who should receive

the coveted prizes. Accordingly, on June 19, the Legislature passed two supplementary bills: the first, known as the Scott Bill, supplements the Focht Bill and places in the hands of the Governor, Attorney-General and the Secretary of the Commonwealth the power to say what charters shall be issued. The other bill, known as the Focht Supplement for the Emery Law, authorizes the construction of rapid transit roads only on securing the consent of the local authorities.

Turning again to a consideration of conditions in Philadelphia we find, on June 12, 1901, that both branches of the City Councils of Philadelphia passed ordinances authorizing thirteen new companies, one underground, five elevated, and seven surface lines, which were given the right to operate street railways on practically all the lines available for that purpose, including Broad and Diamond Streets. The incorporators of all of them were Robert H. Foerderer, Clarence Wolf, Michael Murphy and John M. Mack. A list of the roads with the authorized capital stock follows:

The Broad Street Subway Passenger Railway Company.....	\$1,250,000
The Broad Street Rapid Transit Street Railway Company.....	150,000
Passyunk Avenue Elevated Passenger Railway Company.....	350,000
The Chestnut Hill and Glenside Rapid Transit Street Railway Company.....	150,000
The Market Street Elevated Passenger Railway Company.....	1,500,000
The Ridge Avenue Elevated Passenger Railway Company.....	850,000
The Frankford Elevated Passenger Railway Company.....	750,000
The Germantown Avenue Elevated Passenger Railway Company...	900,000
The Southern Rapid Transit Street Railway Company.....	90,000
The Eastern Rapid Transit Street Railway Company.....	540,000
The Central Rapid Transit Street Railway Company.....	60,000
The Western Rapid Transit Street Railway Company.....	360,000
The Northern Rapid Transit Street Railway Company.....	228,000

These lines covered over a hundred and twenty miles of street, and practically shut out forever all other companies from the streets of Philadelphia. Some of the provisions of these ordinances were: Five cent maximum fares on all lines; work to be started within two years and completed within seven; from the net earnings of the Broad Street Subway, after exceeding six per cent., the company was to pay five per cent. of the excess profits into the city treasury; the surface tracks on Broad Street were to be so constructed as to permit the erection of elevated roads; the companies were to pave and maintain all streets traversed by their tracks without cost to the city; the cars were to run on the elevated roads every five minutes between six and nine A. M., and between four thirty and seven P. M. No provision was made for running night trains. The Broad Street Subway was allowed to rent to other corporations tubes for pipes, conduits and wires, except sewer and water pipes. The underground and elevated railroads were authorized to occupy the highway as needed for stations and approaches without paying rentals.

As a protest to the Mayor against signing these ordinances, giving away

franchises of great value, Mr. John Wanamaker, on June 13, offered to pay to the city \$2,500,000 for the same franchises and deposited \$250,000 with the Real Estate Trust Company as security of his sincerity. The Mayor, however, signed the ordinances the same night. Nine days later Mr. John Wanamaker, renewing his offer to the city of \$2,500,000 for the franchises, offered also a \$500,000 bonus to Congressman Foerderer and his associates if they would convey to him the grants and corporation privileges they had secured. He also agreed to guarantee three-cent fares during certain hours of the day and to return the franchises to the city any time within ten years, provided the city pay him back the actual money invested. If his offer was not acceptable, he requested that the owners of the franchises name the sum which they would take for the privileges. However, no notice was taken of his communication.

It at once became apparent that efforts were being made to force the Union Traction Company to buy the franchises. The most powerful weapon held by those opposing the Union Traction Company was the city ordinance of 1893, granting the overhead trolley privilege which required the company to place all their wires underground whenever the Councils should so direct. If Councils should insist on this, the Union Traction Company, already staggering under immense fixed charges, would be forced into the hands of a receiver. The positive denials of the officials of the Union Traction Company of any proposed purchase of its interests by its rivals changed gradually to evasions, and by the end of 1901 finally to an admission that "while nothing definite had been done, yet cordial relations now existed between the two groups." The final outcome was not left long in doubt, for on March 3, 1902, the Board of Directors of the Union Traction Company passed resolutions recommending to the stockholders the acceptance of the offer of John M. Mack and his associates to lease the road to a new company to be incorporated to be known as the Consolidated Traction Company, which was to have a capital stock of \$30,000,000, divided into \$50 shares, of which \$5 was to be paid in at present. The lease was to be for 999 years from July 1, 1902, on the following conditions: The new company was to guarantee \$1.50 per share (3%) on the stock of the Union Traction Company for the first two years; \$2 per share (4%) the third and fourth years; \$2.50 per share (5%) the fifth and sixth years; and \$3 (6%) the seventh and the remaining nine hundred ninety-two years of the lease; also to pay all fixed charges of the underlying companies' rentals, interest and taxes of every kind and nature.

The Consolidated Traction Company agreed to acquire all the stock of the thirteen companies which had obtained franchises in the previous June. The stockholders of the Union Traction Company were given the right to subscribe for \$7,500,000 of the stock of the new company, or one share for each four shares of their Union Traction Stock holdings the remaining shares of the Consolidated, \$22,500,000 to be subscribed for by Mr. Mack and his associates. A special meeting of the stockholders was called for May 5 to consider the acceptance or rejection of this proposition.

In the meantime opposition had been centering around the proposed construction of the elevated road on Market Street. Business men complained that

it would lessen the usefulness of the thoroughfare and cut off the light in their stores. The determining factor, however, was the opposition of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, which had sometime previously secured from Councils the privilege of erecting a covered way over Market Street, between the Arcade Building and Broad Street Station. This practically had the effect of blocking the proposed elevated line. The syndicate was forced to find some new plan if they wished to make the sale to the new company. Accordingly, in April 1902, an ordinance was passed by Councils and signed by Mayor Ashbridge, granting to the Market Street Elevated Passenger Railway a franchise to build an underground railway under Market Street, from the Delaware River to the County line, or any part thereof, with the right to come upon the surface of Market Street between Twenty-second Street and the Schuylkill River. Work must be begun within one year and completed within three years thereafter. Under the franchise the company is required to lay improved grooved rails and repave with asphalt the entire street surface from the Delaware River to Fifteenth Street.

On May 1, 1902, the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company was chartered with \$10,000 capital stock. The incorporators were all clerks in the employ of John M. Mack and James P. McNichol. The capital stock was at once increased to \$30,000,000 in shares of \$50 each. This corporation was to take the place of the Consolidated Traction Company, whose proposition regarding a lease the stockholders of the Union Traction Company were to consider four days later. The result was the unanimous ratification of the proposition to lease the Traction Company's properties to the new corporation upon the terms already given. The stock of the new company was soon afterwards listed on the Philadelphia Stock Exchange. On July 1, 1902, the actual transfer took place.

The Rapid Transit Company started with fixed charges \$900,000 a year greater than the Union Traction Company had had to meet, and this will be gradually increased as the rental advances. The new company possessed all the Mack-Foerderer franchises except the Broad Street Subway, which was not transferred until some months later. President Parsons estimated that between six and eight million dollars would be required on the Market Street Subway-Elevated System, excluding the Woodland and Lancaster Avenue elevated extension. This necessitated the assessment of the stock of the new company, and, on May 18, the directors voted to call for an additional \$5 per share, thus making the shares \$10 paid. With this money work was started in a desultory manner upon the subway, and numerous improvements and betterments were made to other parts of the system.

The time was drawing near when the Rapid Transit Company must either actually begin work on all their franchises or forfeit them. Since they could not afford to do this, a plan was devised of taking advantage of the provision in the charters allowing consolidation, and accordingly, the Market Street Elevated Passenger Railway Company was formed with \$5,600,000 of authorized capital stock, by the consolidation and merging of the following companies: The Market Street Elevated Passenger Railway Company, the Germantown Avenue Elevated Passenger Railway Company, the Passyunk Avenue Elevated Passenger Railway

Company and the Broad Street Subway Passenger Railway Company. This action was validated by an ordinance of Councils which, while relieving the Rapid Transit Company of the obligation to begin work within the two year period originally provided, requires the completion of the several lines in a certain order within periods ranging respectively from two to ten years. It also requires the company to furnish a bond of \$250,000 to cover the performance of this agreement. The actual commencement of work on the Market Street Subway, it is held by eminent counsel, satisfies the provisions of the State law and keeps alive the other franchises now held by the Market Street Elevated Passenger Railway Company.

In order to make the monopoly in Philadelphia absolutely complete and to prevent the recurrence of the conditions which brought about the formation of the Rapid Transit Company, the following new companies were incorporated in June, 1903, by representatives of the Rapid Transit Company to build 119 miles of street railway as follows: The Glenwood Rapid Transit Street Railway Company, capital stock \$270,000, 45 miles of line; the Moyamensing and Southwark Rapid Transit Street Railway Company, \$282,000, 47 miles of line; the Parkside Rapid Transit Company, \$42,000, 7 miles of line; the Bustleton and Byberry Rapid Transit Street Railway Company, \$120,000, 20 miles of line.

What did the syndicate actually realize from the franchises for which the city received practically nothing? Under the terms of the consolidation the members of the syndicate were to subscribe for \$22,500,000 of the stock of the new company, paying down for the 450,000 shares, \$5 each, or \$2,250,000. At the time the stock was listed it was quoted at \$9 per share. On this basis the profit would have been \$1,800,000. After \$10 had been paid in, the stock sold as high as 18 7-8 and as low as 12. Averaging this, the profit would have been somewhat greater, or \$2,250,000. We see then, that Mr. Wanamaker's valuation of the franchises was above what they actually netted their owners. However, he believed the city should receive the benefit, and not the syndicate.

Taking up the actual construction so far as it has been outlined, we find that the plan calls for an elevated railroad from Sixty-third and Market Streets east to the Schuylkill River, which they cross by a new bridge. At Twenty-third Street the elevated descends into the subway, in which are to be four tracks besides cable ducts. Two of these tracks are to be for express trains, two for accommodation. At Delaware Avenue the Company has acquired a tract of ground on which large power-houses, car-barns and a station are to be erected. An elevated road is to be built south on Delaware Avenue as far as the Reading Railroad piers, thus placing them on the same footing as the Pennsylvania for the Jersey service.

At the western end of the line, beyond Sixty-third Street, the company has purchased a large tract of ground on which they propose to erect, besides the terminal, storage yards and extensive repair shops. The actual work of construction is already well under way. President Parsons announces that the Subway will be finished as far as Fifteenth Street within a year, at which time they hope

to have the elevated completed. This section will be put in operation while the work of construction is carried on on the down-town portion of the line.

The query naturally arises, what effect will this have upon the direction of the development of the city in the future? When we consider that in order to make the city square, fully twelve miles of ground west of the terminus of the new line must be developed, it seems apparent that the great future growth will be towards the west. The officials realize that, burdened as the Rapid Transit is with heavy fixed charges, *new* traffic must be developed for the new system, because if the elevated merely takes people which the surface lines formerly carried, the gross earnings will not be increased, while the capital charges will have grown much heavier. The only hope which they have of ever securing dividends on the Rapid Transit stock is to develop new trade for the elevated, at the same time discouraging the nearby riders from using it in order that the surface lines may be fully employed. The result of this will be that the Rapid Transit Company or some affiliated organization will, on the completion of the system, proceed to open up the country west of the city limit, which is, practically speaking, sparsely occupied at present. The future growth, therefore, seems certain to be in a western direction, the growth to the north and to the south being arrested, or at least checked, by the more favorable location (considering transportation facilities) which the western section will have to offer to its residents.

Although the elevated-subway system is yet far from completion the first steps have already been taken to develop the eastern portion of Delaware County, and it seems certain that several "feeders" will be in operation by the time the elevated is completed. The rate at which the growth will take place can only be surmised—it is safe to say, however, that it will surpass anything in the history of Philadelphia and will equal that which has invariably occurred on the completion of similar improvements in other cities.

THOMAS CONWAY, JR.

Lansdowne, Penna.

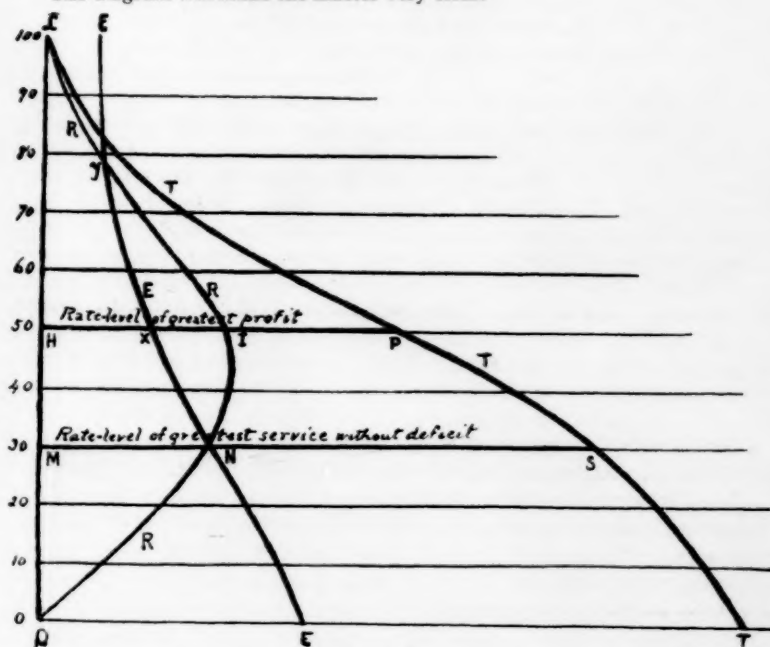
COMMUNICATION.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND LOW RATES

In the same country and under similar conditions otherwise than in respect to ownership and control, public ownership tends as a rule to make lower rates than private ownership. This tendency results from the fundamental difference of aim between the two systems. Private monopoly aims at dividends for stockholders; public ownership aims at service for all. A normal public institution aims at the public good, while a normal private monopoly aims at private profit. It serves public interest also, but such service is incidental, and not the primary purpose. It serves the public interest so long as it runs along in the same direction and is linked with private profit, but when the public interest departs from or runs counter to the interests owning or controlling the system, the public interests are subordinated.

The conflict between public and private interest is specially strong in the matter of rates. The rate-level that yields the greatest profit is much higher than the rate-level that affords the greatest service, or the greatest service without deficit, and since private monopoly aims at profit it seeks the higher rate-level. Public ownership aims at service, not at profit, and therefore gravitates to the lower rate-level, where traffic and service are greater.

The diagram will make the matter very clear.



In the figure, L O is the rate line with zero rates at the bottom and at the top rates so lofty as to be prohibitive; T T T is the traffic curve expanding rapidly as the rates are lowered; E E E is the expense curve beginning with the minimum of fixed charges and operating cost which must be incurred even with the smallest traffic and expanding with the traffic, though not in the same ratio. A considerable traffic can be handled at a slight advance upon the minimum cost (the fixed charges being nearly the same with 60 passengers per car as with 1, while the operating cost is only slightly increased), and for the later ranges of the traffic curve the expense account expands at so much less a rate than the traffic that an enlargement of 100 per cent. in the traffic frequently increases expenses only 30 to 50 per cent., and sometimes scarcely at all, as when Hungary adopted the zone system in 1889. R R R is the curve of receipts, which is a function of the rate and the traffic, and can be easily platted from them; Y R N, the part of the curve of receipts that extends beyond the expense line, represents profits. H I is the rate-level that yields the greatest profit, and M N is the rate-level that yields the greatest traffic without incurring a deficit. It is the level at which the line of receipts crosses the expense line, so that there is neither profit nor deficit, but service at cost. M N, the line of greatest traffic without deficit, is always a considerable distance below H I, the line of greatest profit. As you go down the rate line from H the traffic increases and the profit diminishes, until you come to a point where the rates are so low that profit vanishes, and there you have the rate-level of greatest traffic without deficit.

Now, private monopoly aiming at profit tends to establish rates at the level H I, the rate-level for profit, while public ownership aiming at service tends to bring rates down to the level M N, the rate-level for service.

Private monopoly aiming at profit tends to put rates at H with the traffic H P and the profit X I, while public ownership aiming at service tends to put rates several flights of stairs lower down, at M, with the very much larger traffic M S and no profit. I say "tends," because actual rates may not be on the lines H I and M N—public ownership may place the rates above M N (though rarely or never as high as H I) or below M N, even down to the zero level, and private ownership may, through miscalculation, put rates above H I or below it (though rarely or never so low as M N). The significant fact is that *private rates gravitate to the high level H I with large profit and comparatively small service*, while *public rates gravitate to the low level M N, with large service and no profit*, and in later stages of development may seek a lower level still and even cultivate the zero line.

The curves in the figure would vary, of course, with the location and character of the business. Under some circumstances a 50 per cent. reduction of rates would double traffic and increase expenses 30 per cent. perhaps, while in another case a 50 per cent. reduction would increase the business 20 per cent. and the expenses 10 per cent. or 15 per cent. In some cases the traffic curve becomes concave toward the left as it nears the zero level, while in other cases it might be concave toward the northeast and strike the zero level at a great distance to the right. But through all the various phases of these curves the essential facts remain the

same, viz: (1) The rate level that yields the greatest profit carries a relatively small traffic and lies above the rate-level that yields the largest traffic attainable by lowering rates without incurring a deficit, and (2) private ownership seeks the high rate-level with maximum profit, while public ownership seeks the low rate-level with maximum service at cost.

A few illustrations of the vigorous manner in which this law works out in practice may be of advantage here:

The Hungarian Government at a single stroke in 1889 reduced State railway fares 40 to 80 per cent. Austria and Prussia have also made great reductions in railway charges. Belgium started in the thirties with the very low rate of four-fifths of a cent on her public railways. In New Zealand and Australia also the government managements have adopted the settled policy of reducing railroad rates as fast as possible.

When England made the telegraph public in 1870, rates were lowered 30 to 50 per cent. at once, and still further reductions were afterwards made.

When France took over the telephone in 1889, rates were reduced from \$116 to \$78 per year in Paris, and from \$78 to \$39 elsewhere, except in Lyons, where the charge was made \$58.50.

Private turnpikes, bridges and canals levy sufficient tolls to get what profit may be possible; but when these same highways, bridges and canals become public the tolls are often abolished entirely, rendering such facilities of transportation free, and when charges are made they are lower than the rates of private monopolies under similar conditions, and generally reach the vanishing point as soon as the capital is paid off or before.

When Glasgow took the management of her street railways in 1894, fares were reduced at once about 33 per cent., the average fare dropped to about 2 cents, and 35 per cent. of the fares were 1 cent each. Since then further reductions have been made, and the average fare now is little more than a cent and a half; over 50 per cent. reduction in 6 years, while we pay the 5-cent fare to the private companies in Boston and other cities of the United States the same as we did six years ago, instead of the 2½ cent fare we would pay if the same percentage of reduction had occurred here as in Glasgow.

According to Baker's Manual of American Waterworks, the charges of private water companies in the United States average 43 per cent. excess above the charges of public waterworks for similar service. In some states investigation shows that private water rates are double the public rates.

For commercial electric lighting Prof. John R. Commons says that private companies charge 50 to 100 per cent. more than public plants.¹

We could offer many other illustrations of the law that public ownership tends to lower rates than private monopoly, but this discussion may be sufficient to indicate the complexion of the facts and put the reader upon inquiry, which is the purpose of this brief article.

FRANK PARSONS.

National Public Ownership League, Boston, Mass.

¹ See "Municipal Monopolies," p. 156.

BOOK DEPARTMENT

NOTES

STEPS IN THE EXPANSION OF OUR TERRITORY, by Oscar P. Austin,¹ is a volume in the "Expansion of the Republic Series," and is designed to "tell in simple terms the steps by which the United States has been transformed from thirteen political communities into fifty." The author divides the territorial history of the country into thirteen periods and discusses the various territorial and political changes occurring in each, accompanying the text by an elaborate series of black line maps. The latter form the most important feature of the work.

The author's preference for an extremely simple style leads him to adopt a colorless one. He is likewise guilty of a few minor inaccuracies hardly excusable in a statistician of national reputation. Among these we may note his statement (122) that in 1803 the United States became owner of both sides of the Mississippi "from the source to the mouth;" that the United States acquired the Alabama portion of West Florida in 1812 (143); that Spain, in 1795, sold West Florida to France (145); that the desire to acquire the Floridas was due wholly to the "slave power" (145); that in 1819 we exchanged Texas for the Spanish claims above the forty-second parallel; and that Texas land warrants played a more important part in the South than in the North (167) in forcing the annexation of that State. These inaccuracies which may be taken as typical of many others detract much from the value of the book as a graphical representation of the growth of the United States.²

THE REAPPEARANCE OF "Sophisms of Free Trade and Popular Political Economy Examined," by Sir John Barnard Byles,³ at this particular juncture in England will be readily understood. As an *ex parte* argument upon a much vexed question it has its merits; among which frankness and courage of conviction are conspicuous. These, however, are not all; for it successfully controverts many of the tenets of the "orthodox economists" and places before the reader in a good literary form what we are now acquainted with as the stock arguments for protection. It repeats some of the old errors also.⁴

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN AMERICAN EDUCATION, by Joseph Henry Crooker,⁵ is a little book which deserves wide reading among American students. The author's main purpose is to discover the true status of religion in its relation to

¹ Pp. 258. Price, \$1.25. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1903.

² Contributed by Isaac Joslin Cox.

³ Newly edited from the eighth edition with notes and introduction by N. S. Lilly & C. S. Devas, London, 1904. Pp. li and 424. Price, \$1.25. London: 1849. New York: John Lane, 1904.

⁴ Contributed by J. E. Conner, Ph.D.

⁵ Pp. ix, 216. Price, \$1.00. Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1903.

public education. To this end he discusses lucidly the function of the "secular" state, the Bible in the public schools, the need of religious neutrality, the religious motive in its relation to higher education, etc. There is an interesting chapter embodying the results of a painstaking investigation into the practices of some of the larger universities with regard to the holding of chapel exercises. A final chapter, in some respects the best in the book, contains the author's conclusions and recommendations on the subject of religion in its relation to education.

THE STOCK EXCHANGE⁶ is a little book of interest to all Americans who have to do with stock exchange transactions. Within a brief compass the author has given full and excellent description of the London Stock Exchange and of its methods. The book is naturally compared with Pratt's "Work of Wall Street." It is by no means as complete as the latter, nevertheless it contains all the information concerning stock exchange transactions in London in which the general reader will be interested.

TWO GERMAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS connected with the collection of customs in South Germany have recently written a volume⁷ on the commercial policy of the Empire. They state the purpose of their book to be "to give a survey of the development of customs duties and of the economic significance of these duties, as well as to show the connection, direct and indirect, between customs duties and the whole economic life of the nation." This, however, is only part of their purpose. It is soon evident that their ultimate aim is to urge the formation of a customs union of the nations of Central Europe, as the only defense against disastrous transoceanic competition.

This subject of "transoceanic competition" is of interest to American readers for the United States is in German eyes the chief offender. Separate chapters are devoted to Russia, England and America, which constitute, according to the authors, the three great economic domains. In the chapter on America the authors express fear of a Pan-American customs union, which, they feel, would mean nothing but probable economic disaster to the nations of Europe. They openly advocate a preferential tariff for European competitors (as opposed to American competitors) pending the formation of a Central-European Zollverein.⁸

BY ALL MEANS the best brief account of the development of English public charities is that given by Charles A. Ellwood, Professor of Sociology in the University of Missouri, in his recent pamphlet, "Public Relief and Private Charity in England," which appears as Vol. II, No. 2, of the University of Missouri Studies. The style is clear and concise and the author is to be congratulated that he has so well told a long story in less than one hundred pages.

⁶ By Charles Duguid. Pp. 173. Price, 2s. 6d. London: Methuen & Co., 1904.

⁷ *Brennende Agrar-, Zoll-, und Handelsfragen*. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Hermann Egner und Karl Schuëmacher. Pp. 378. Price, 3 marks, or one dollar. Karlsruhe: J. J. Reiff, 1903.

⁸ Contributed by Dr. C. W. A. Veditz, Lewiston, Me.

IN HIS WORK, "How England Averted a Revolution by Force," Mr. B. O. Flower⁹ presents a study of the anti-Corn-Law movement in England, or, to put it more broadly, "a survey of the social agitation of the first ten years of Queen Victoria's reign." But his purpose is deeper than to present a mere historical statement. He says we have come to depend on Old World precedents for our action as a nation to a greater degree than in our earlier history. And he tells his story to show how the rights of the people may be successfully asserted, and how the ends of justice may be reached by peaceful, orderly means. The book deals with the causes of popular unrest, the origin, progress and result of chartism, the history of the Corn Laws, and of the movement which culminated in their repeal.¹⁰

IT HAPPENS BUT SELDOM that an American student is able to anticipate or to supersede the indefatigable Germans in the study of the history of their own country. In a monograph, entitled "Hanover and Prussia," Dr. Guy Stanton Ford¹¹ has established for himself a strong claim to this distinction. His study is a careful account based upon a critical use of the sources, printed and in manuscript form, of the relations of Prussia and Hanover to each other, and to the epoch-making international events set in motion by revolutionary France at the end of the eighteenth century.

By the treaty of Basel in 1795 Prussia withdrew from the first coalition against France and for eleven years she maintained a strictly neutral policy, during which her running-mate in Germany, Austria, suffered defeat in three disastrous wars with the French. Little wonder then that Prussia has been accused of bad faith, and of indifference to the interests of the fatherland, though it can scarcely account for the fact that even German historians, like Treitschke, treat the period as altogether inglorious, one of "unrelieved weakness and disgrace." It is against this attitude that Mr. Ford protests by a vigorous array of well marshaled facts. That he establishes the case for making the period the really critical one of modern Prussia can scarcely be admitted, but his main contention against the German point of view he clearly proves. Mr. Ford shows conclusively that had neutrality been made effective by an adequate military force, as the author of the policy urged, the whole result and therefore also the aspect of the period would have been changed. That it was not must be attributed to King Frederick William III. (not King William III., page 131). Prussia lost a golden opportunity and prepared the way for her own disasters.

Another feature of the study is the clear case made out for the practical identification of the interests of Hanover with those of Prussia, notwithstanding the personal union of the former with England. This Mr. Ford shows to have been inevitable because of the geographic position of Hanover, its proximity to Prussia on the one side, and to Holland, then occupied by France, on the other.

⁹ Pp. 288. Price, \$1.25. Trenton: Albert Brandt, 1903.

¹⁰ Contributed by C. T. Wyckoff, Ph.D.

¹¹ *Hanover and Prussia, 1795-1803. A Study in Neutrality.* Pp. 315. Price, \$2.00. New York: Columbia University Press, 1903.

The style and manner of presentation are excellent. There are occasional slips as for example one cited above, the identification of Count Hardenberg with the Prussian statesman, the undue importance attached to the acquisition of the title of King of Prussia (p. 21), and one might prefer to see the form *Tsar* in place of *Czar* in a monograph on modern European affairs. But these are minor matters scarcely to be noticed in a work so generally meritorious.¹²

GERMAN STUDENTS preparing for the degree of "Doctor of Political Sciences" now conferred by two or three universities of the Empire are required, among other things, to prepare and publish an original essay on some economic subject. In this requirement the term "original" is taken rather seriously, for the essay must not duplicate previous contributions to the literature of economics. The result of this requirement, combined with the almost universal attitude of opposition, among economists of the German historical school, to the present further development of economic theory pure and simple, is an annually increasing output of "Doktordissertationen" treating, with the greatest possible care and minuteness, of some narrowly confined field or period of economic history. These microscopic investigations, universally prompted by the kind suggestion of some "verehrter Lehrer," are piled higher and higher from year to year. Their greatest service of course consists not so much in the instruction they convey to possible readers as the profit (of a purely scientific nature) which they bring to the respective authors themselves.

From time to time, however, an essay is deemed worthy of a wider circulation and is incorporated in the "publications" of one of the great German seminaries of economics. Five essays of this class recently received by the ANNALS for review bear the following titles: "The Industries of Silesia under the Influence of Caprivi's Commercial Policy," "The Industries of the Rhine Provinces from 1888 to 1900," "The Commercial Interests of the German Cities on the Baltic Sea," "Financial Trust Societies," and "The Westphalian Community of Eversberg."¹³ The first of these essays is an appeal, based on data drawn from recent experience, for a foreign commercial policy which shall not curtail but, if possible, extend the foreign markets of Silesia, whose geographical position makes foreign commerce especially desirable and important. The second essay, somewhat more interesting to the American economist, is an investigation of the effects of the protectionist policy on certain trust-made commodities. The third contains a discussion of the present imperial policy with regard to the coast trade on the

¹² Contributed by W. E. Lingelbach.

¹³ *Schlesien's Industrie unter dem Einflusse der Caprivi'schen Handelspolitik, 1889-1900.* By Arthur Friedrich. Pp. ii and 192. Price, 4½ marks.

Die Industrie der Rheinprovinz, 1888-1900. Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Handelspolitik und der Kartelle. By Theodor Vogelstein. Pp. x. and 112. Price, 3 marks.

Handelspolitische Interessen der deutschen Ostseestaedte, 1890-1900. By Stephan Jonas. Pp. vi and 92. Price, 2 marks.

Finanzielle Trustgesellschaften. By Maz Joergens. Pp. xii and 160. Price, 3 marks, 60 pf.

Die Westfaelische Gemeinde Eversberg. Eine Wirtschaftliche Untersuchung. By August Engel. Pp. iii and 144. Price, 3 marks and 30 pf.

All of these essays belong to the *Muenchener volkswirtschaftliche Studien*, and are published by J. G. Cotta (Stuttgart and Berlin), 1902 and 1903.

Baltic. The fourth is a study of so-called investment trusts in England and Germany—their economic function and legal organization. The last is an economic history, from the middle ages down, of a little town in eastern Westphalia.¹⁴

PRESIDENT HADLEY'S BOOK ON "The Relations Between Freedom and Responsibility in the Evolution of Democratic Government"¹⁵ grew out of the Yale lectures on "The Responsibilities of Citizenship." The object of the lectures was "to show what the ethical basis of democracy is, how it has arisen and what happens if we try to ignore it." The seven papers included in the volume discuss the working of democratic institutions in the United States, and the basis of individual liberty. There is also an analysis of freedom as a religious conception, as a legal institution, and as a foundation of ethics. The limits of individual freedom are pointed out, and the outlook for the future is discussed.

The book has the clearness, conciseness and humorous touches characteristic of President Hadley's writings. The industrial and political dangers threatening democratic institutions in the United States are well presented, but the outlook for the future is optimistic. The author believes we shall succeed in developing ethical standards regarding business and politics, that will enable us to perpetuate personal liberty and democratic institutions.

OUTLINES OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS, by Prof. B. E. Hammond, of Trinity College, Cambridge,¹⁶ is a volume designed to serve as a textbook for beginners in the study of Comparative Politics. The work is the outgrowth of the author's experience as a teacher of this subject, and is founded, he tells us, on the lectures of the late Professor Seeley. It contains a general survey of the more important states and their governments, their beginnings, growth and present political organization. Something like two-thirds of the volume is devoted to the politics of the ancient and mediæval states, thus leaving the constitutions of modern national states very inadequately treated. Twenty pages are given to the United States, two of which, strangely enough, are devoted to a description of Tammany Hall and its methods.

CHARLES JAMES FOX: A Political Study, by J. L. LeB. Hammond,¹⁷ is not a biography of the brilliant but erratic Whig leader. It is merely a series of essays dealing with various phases of his public career, as, for example, his attitude on the Irish question, on the Indian question, on the French Revolution, on Parliamentary Reform, on religious toleration, and the like. It is a philosophical study of Fox the statesman, written by a man who is thoroughly in sympathy with his subject. There are few facts presented which cannot be found in the pages of Russell, Trevelyan, or Lecky, but Hammond's conclusions sometimes differ from theirs. He shows us what Trevelyan might have shown if he

¹⁴ Contributed by Dr. C. W. A. Veditz, Lewiston, Me.

¹⁵ Pp. 175. Price, \$1.00. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903.

¹⁶ Pp. 485. London: Rivingtons, 1903.

¹⁷ Pp. xii, 370. Price, \$2.00. New York: James Pott & Co., 1903.

had not been diverted from his subject, that Fox's place in history has been very much underrated. Unfortunately, he rather weakens his argument at times by making invidious comparisons between Fox and Pitt. Hammond's defense of him is interesting if not quite convincing (pp. 57-60). In his opinion it was North rather than Fox who sacrificed his opinions, for the primary object of the coalition was to limit the power of the crown.

Among so many pages of unalloyed praise it is a relief to find an occasional note of disapproval. Mr. Hammond admits, quite unnecessarily, it seems to the reviewer, that Fox was wrong on the Regency Bill of 1788.

MR. CHARLES WALDO HASKINS was at the time of his death easily the best known accountant in the United States. Within the short space of eight years he had developed the largest accounting business in the world. Conspicuously successful in his profession, and, therefore, largely preoccupied with the duties which it laid upon him, Mr. Haskins yet found time to do much for the cause of business education in which he was deeply interested. In bringing together in permanent form the scattered papers and addresses of Mr. Haskins upon the subject of "Business Education and Accountancy,"¹⁸ Dr. Cleveland has performed a meritorious service.

The principal chapters in the book are those entitled: "Business Training," "The Scope of Banking Education," "The Possibilities of the Profession of Accounting as a Moral and Educational Force," "The Growing Need for Higher Accounting," "The Place of the Science of Accounts in Collegiate Commercial Education," "History of Accountancy," "Accountancy in Babylonia and Assyria," and "The Municipal Accounts of Chicago."

Mr. Haskins' plea was constantly for greater definiteness in economic work. He argued strongly that the economy which did not succeed in interpreting the movements of the business world was a useless science, if indeed it properly deserved the title of science at all. He urged upon the economists of the country the importance of taking into account business facts and business problems, and of relating their science to the activity of the business world.

In a word Mr. Haskins advocated that every business presented a fund of knowledge which can be reduced to law and system, and which can be imparted in class-room instruction, and that it was to the interest of every man contemplating a business career to first provide himself as far as possible with what might be termed the scientific principles of his business. He believed that business education was as necessary to success in business as an engineering education was essential to success in that profession. It is to be hoped that the work which Mr. Haskins inaugurated and which he developed to such a considerable extent will be carried on to success by those who were fortunate enough to come within the scope of his influence. If this book should prove to be an anticipation of the future development of scientific accounting Mr. Haskins could wish for no more lasting memorial.

¹⁸*Business Education and Accountancy*. By Charles Waldo Haskins, C. P. A., late Dean of the New York University School of Commerce, Finance and Accounts. Edited by Frederick Albert Cleveland, Ph.D. Pp. 239. Price, \$2.00. New York: Harpers, 1904.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE AND THE EXPLORATION, EARLY HISTORY AND BUILDING OF THE WEST, by Ripley Hitchcock,¹⁹ is one of the numerous volumes evoked by the St. Louis Exposition. It contains a very readable account of the discovery and settlement both of the Mississippi Valley and of the Far West region. Part I (86 pages) is devoted to a rapid review of the coming of the Spanish and the French, and of the occupation of Louisiana down to the transfer to the United States in 1803. Part II (87 pages) gives a spirited narrative of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, while Parts III and IV (197 pages), tell the story of the explorers that followed in the wake of Lewis and Clark, with a rapid survey of the winning of the West by sturdy pioneers. As a result of the haste in which the book was doubtless written, a number of minor errors have crept in. For example, on page 4, the Rio Grande and the Rio Bravo are given as separate rivers; page 27, La Salle is represented as exploring the whole course of the Mississippi; page 87, the treaty of Ildephonso is said to contain a clause denying the right of alienating Louisiana; page 94, Louisiana is said to have seceded in the spring of 1861. However, the work was not written for critical scholars, and perhaps in no other volume of so small and so convenient a compass, can a busy American find so much interesting information about the central and western portion of the United States.²⁰

IN LES ORIGINES DIPLOMATIQUES DE L'INDEPENDANCE BELGE, by l'Abbe Fl. de Lannoy,²¹ we have an interesting narrative of the London Conference of 1830-1831, a sub-title sufficiently comprehensive. To a general review of the antecedents and the preliminaries of the Conference, which has been so fully treated by Rene Dollot, in his recent work on the origin of the neutrality of Belgium, about fifty of a total of more than three hundred pages are given. Independence, neutrality, the search for a king, the regency, the election of Leopold and the Eighteen Articles, and the campaign of ten days and the Twenty-four Articles serve as chapter headings. The author quotes freely from the published writings of the several plenipotentiaries, especially from the correspondence of Prince Talleyrand with Mme. Adelaide. We note that omissions in the "Memoires" have occasionally been supplied (see pages 122, 133). The repeated misspelling of such common English words as "foreign" is indicative of undue haste.²²

PROF. ANDRE LEFEVRE'S little book²³ on the Teutons and the Slavs is clear and well-written. The thirty-two maps it contains, showing the migrations of these peoples, are especially instructive. The author treats, principally, of the origins of the Germanic and Slavonic peoples, their invasions of Europe, and their mythologies. The purpose of the volume is merely one of populariza-

¹⁹ Pp. xxii, 349. Price, \$1.25. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1903.

²⁰ Contributed by Prof. John R. Ficklin.

²¹ Pp. xiii, 309.

²² Contributed by Samuel B. Crandall, Ph.D.

²³ *Germanis et Slaves. Origines et Croyances*. By Andre Lefevre. Pp. 247. Price, 3.50 francs. Paris, 1903. Schleicher Freres. (*Bibliothèque d'Histoire et de Géographie Universelles*.)

tion. It must be observed that the philological parts of the book are, to say the least, subject to criticism.

THE EDUCATIONAL CONQUEST IN THE FAR EAST,²⁴ by Robert E. Lewis, M.A., reads more like a romance than a statement of facts. Perhaps the part relating to Japan is more interesting, and particularly since it shows in a very great measure the reasons for the marvelous development of this far East Empire during the past thirty years. The results accomplished in Japan as here portrayed are perhaps among the marvels of our past century's progress. The influence of the German, the English and the American school teachers in Japan is clearly portrayed, and presents such an array of interesting incidents as challenge the admiration and increase the convictions of all friends of education.

In China the results of the modern spirit at work in the educational system are not so apparent. Some good has been accomplished, partly from the heroic efforts and activities of missionaries from the enlightened parts of Europe and the United States, but China has not progressed as Japan did, and she is well nigh in the mist and shadows of her dominant and effete influences. We have in China the working out of its logical ends (for the Chinese mind is logical in a way) of a system of examinations, which in every application work riot and ruin to an educational system such as our present civilization has demonstrated to be most helpful and most useful. The effect of all this manifests itself in two directions. First, illiteracy predominates; as the possibility of passing this rigid examination is beyond the reach of the masses, and no other outlook or guidance being apparent, the children receive no education whatever. In the second place, the traditions of the Chinese religion are fastened indelibly upon the minds of each succeeding generation. There is nothing to prepare the child for this examination save the old commentaries which have been in use for the same purpose not only for centuries, but for thousands of years, and the whole culture of the people is rendered static by holding rigidly to these unchanged and involved commentaries on the State Religion. Evidently the need of China is the establishment of training schools under State control and the creation of a thoroughly distributed system of primary or elementary Public Schools, the function of which would be not primarily to breed rulers and office holders, but to put each individual in possession of elementary knowledge and a form of culture which would break up his contentment with present conditions and compel him to seek, through increased activities, the realization of the newer ideas imparted to him by these schools. Until China succeeds in accomplishing this, her outlook as a nation will continue to be what it now is. Mr. Lewis' book gives many interesting statistics. These are scattered over his pages at random. One cannot help but regret that these statistics are not used in a more helpful manner to the scholar, but the student is able to vision the conditions for which they stand. On the whole, the book is really readable, is full of information and suggestion and presents the advance in education in these two great Oriental nations in a suggestive and stimulating manner. Certain

²⁴ Pp. 248. Price, \$1.00 New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1903.

textual errors might be pointed out; for instance, on page 149, *Chih* should be *Shih*; and again, on page 152, the enumerating of mental acquisitions is set forth with evident carelessness. These minor matters are no doubt due to the haste in which the book seems to have been prepared, and perhaps to the fact that the author did not have the opportunity to make a final revision of his material. These typographical errors do not seriously mar the value of the book. Its general effect is helpful. It is a distinct contribution to the educational literature of the year.²⁵

THE PROFESSIONAL TRAINING OF SECONDARY TEACHERS IN THE UNITED STATES,²⁶ by G. W. A. Luckey, Professor of Education, University of Nebraska, is the most extensive work yet issued on this subject; and yet, as the preface well says, it is "at most, scarcely more than a beginning." The book proper consists of 258 pages, divided into five chapters. Chapter I gives a brief historical sketch of the "beginning and growth of the professional training of teachers in Germany;" Chapter II a much briefer treatment of the rise of the Normal School in the United States; Chapter III is devoted to the movement within colleges and universities, especially in the West, for the preparation of teachers chiefly for the elementary schools; in Chapter IV is given a fuller account, by selected types, of "the special movement"—likewise in colleges and universities—"for the professional preparation of secondary teachers," which began in the University of Michigan, about 1880, and within the next twenty years spread to almost all colleges and universities of prominence in the country. Chapters V and VI conclude the book proper. Of these, the former is devoted to an attempt to answer the questions: "What, When and Where?" of professional training for secondary school teachers; the latter discusses the questions, whether teachers of elementary and of secondary schools should have essentially the same sort of professional training, and whether this training should be given for each class in one and the same institution. The author reaches a negative conclusion to each question; he holds that elementary school teachers can be most advantageously trained in the Normal Schools, and teachers of secondary schools in the educational departments of colleges and universities. The whole book is marred by numerous slight inaccuracies and misprints; still, though the great book on this subject remains to be written, the present work is well worth reading.²⁷

THE MIDDLE AGES, by P. V. N. Myers,²⁸ is a revision of the first part of the author's "Mediaeval and Modern History," which appeared in 1885. The revision consists chiefly in incorporating into the text the results of recent researches in the field of Mediaeval History, and in emphasizing more the institutional side of history rather than the dynastic and military phases. The best chap-

²⁵ Contributed by Prof. M. G. Brumbaugh.

²⁶ Pp. 391. Price, paper \$2.00 net; cloth, \$2.50 net. New York: The Macmillan Company 1903. (Columbia University Contributions to Philosophy, Psychology and Education.)

²⁷ Contributed by W. S. Thomas.

²⁸ Pp. x, 454. Boston and London: Ginn & Co.

ters are those on Monasticism, Feudalism and Chivalry, the Papacy, the Towns, the Universities, and the Renaissance. Some of the dozen maps are new; others are the usual stock maps. A useful addition is the critical bibliography of sources and secondary works appended to each chapter. A quantity of good illustrative material is given in the footnotes, and references are made to the best modern authorities. The revision of the second part of the original text will appear later.²⁹

AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN LIFE IN TOWN AND COUNTRY, by Francis H. E. Palmer,³⁰ constitutes the ninth volume in the series, "Our European Neighbors," edited by William Harbutt Dawson. The excellence of the earlier volumes has given the series a well-merited popularity, and to this Mr. Palmer's appreciative study of the life in Austria-Hungary will add materially. It gives us a glimpse of contemporary conditions; the daily life, manners and customs of the people of this polyglot kingdom. The German Austrians are treated in four chapters, the Hungarians in two. In the latter sufficient distinction is not made between the two strata of society, the Magyar and the Slav. A chapter each devoted to the northern Slavs, the southern Slavs and the minor nationalities brings out the strange diversity of races and customs of the Hapsburg lands. The last part of the book, in five chapters, is devoted to the political, industrial, intellectual and religious conditions of the monarchy, while a special chapter is devoted to the two capitals Vienna and Buda-Pesth.

A POSTHUMOUS BOOK by Fernand Pelloutier,³¹ who for seven years was the Secretary of the General Federation of Labor Exchanges in France, gives a well-written account, from the standpoint of a socialist, of the so-called "bourses du travail," or labor exchanges. These exchanges, which have had the rare fortune of meeting with the approval not only of radical socialists, but also of hide-bound liberal economists such as M. de Molinari, are centers where laborers may discover the opportunities for employment that exist in their own and in other localities, in order to profit by this knowledge in offering their labor for sale in the best market. They resemble stock exchanges, except that instead of regulating the market for the sale and purchase of securities, they regulate it for the sale and purchase of labor, and with a view to improving the condition of labor. They furnish laborers, like the corporations of the middle ages, with the means necessary for traveling to such places as offer better conditions of employment. They provide help in cases of loss of work or in case of illness. They attempt to establish trade schools and to collect statistical data of importance to the laboring classes. Since 1892 their development in France has been rapid, and now they may be found in all parts of France, bound together into a national federation. The whole movement in France, however, is strongly influenced by socialistic doctrines.³²

²⁹ Contributed by Walter L. Fleming, Ph.D.

³⁰ Pp. 300. Price, \$1.20. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903.

³¹ *Histoire des Bourses du Travail. Origines, Institutions, Avenir.* By Fernand Pelloutier. Pp. xx and 232. Price, 3.50 francs. Paris: 1903. Schleicher Frères.

³² Contributed by Dr. C. W. A. Veditz.

NORTH CAROLINA: A STUDY IN ENGLISH COLONIAL GOVERNMENT, by Charles Lee Raper, Ph.D.,³³ embodies the results of a critical study of the struggle between the representatives of the crown in North Carolina and the popular party.

There are chapters on the Governor, Council and Assembly and on the territorial, fiscal, judicial and military systems. He shows us how inevitable it was that the Governor and Council should have been arrayed against the lower house of the Legislature. Many of the controversies are discussed in detail. The last two chapters summarize the chief questions in dispute, explain their constitutional significance, and trace the immediate steps which led to the downfall of royal government.

Few writers on Colonial History have emphasized sufficiently the fact that the king was the landlord as well as the head of the government in the royal province. Dr. Raper's work is hardly open to this criticism. He describes the administrative side of the land system and calls attention to the incessant quarrels over the payment of quit rents, which served to embitter the feelings of the colonists against the crown.³⁴

VOLUME VII. of the "Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society," edited by Franklin L. Riley, Ph.D.,³⁵ surpasses in bulk, if not in quality, all of the previous volumes of the Society. The present volume contains twenty-nine papers, including the address of welcome delivered before the Society at its annual meeting, by Hon. John Sharp Williams. Most of the papers are chiefly of local value, although there is hardly one that cannot be read with interest by the general student of American history. There are several papers on local phases of the Civil War and Reconstruction periods, one on makeshifts during the war, one on historic homes in Mississippi, one on the cholera epidemic of 1849, and one on British West Florida. There are a number of biographical sketches, those of most general interest perhaps being sketches of the noted Indian, Greenwood Leflore, the late Senator George and Colonel Claiborne, the historian of the State. The second annual report of Mr. Dunbar Rowland, the State Director of History and Archives, shows encouraging progress in the collection and arrangement of the historical records of the State.

DECIDEDLY ABOVE THE AVERAGE DOCTOR'S DISSERTATION in scholarship and practical usefulness is Dr. George L. Scherger's "Evolution of Modern Liberty,"³⁶ a study of the genesis and development of the political theory embodied in the American Bills of Rights and in the French Declaration of Rights. The work is divided into four parts: (1) the history and development of natural law from the earliest times to the present; (2) the history of the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people; (3) the American Bills of Rights with particular reference to their origin and development; and (4) the French Declaration of the Rights of Man.

³³ Pp. xiii, 260. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903.

³⁴ Contributed by W. Roy Smith, Ph.D.

³⁵ Pp. 531. Printed for the Society. Oxford, Miss., 1903.

³⁶ Pp. x, 284. Price, \$1.10. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1904.

Especially valuable is the author's discussion of the influence of the American Bills of Rights upon the French Declaration.

EIGHTY YEARS OF UNION, by James Schouler,³⁷ is made up of extracts taken bodily from the author's larger work, and hence any criticism upon the subject matter would only be to pass judgment anew upon disconnected parts of a work which has gained a permanent place in the bibliography of American history. It was prepared, so says the author, "at the request of some eminent educators for the special use of students and the casual reader." The full presentation of some of the more important events of our history may be of service to students using only the smaller texts, and the "appreciations" of the prominent characters, from Washington to Lincoln, will interest the casual reader. The claim of the publishers that it "comprises a consecutive narrative of our United States history" for the period 1783-1865 can hardly be substantiated. When one finds that the Louisiana treaty, the head of which has been cut off, is disposed of in a little more than two pages, mostly rhetoric that makes not unpleasant reading, and nearly four pages given to the Burr-Hamilton duel and a eulogy upon Hamilton, who has already occupied considerable space, he is inclined to doubt if a due sense of proportion has been preserved.³⁸

"THE INTERESTS OF THE LABORING CLASSES," says Leon de Seilhac in his book³⁹ on French labor organizations, "have been defended in two different ways: (1) By strikes, which are industrial wars; (2) By trades-unions, which mean armed peace." Thereupon he discusses the *raison d'être* of trades-unions, the obstacles which stand in the way of their formation and effectual operation, and their development in France since the law of 1884. He describes several types of trades-unions, and sketches the federative tendency among large numbers of these unions. Two federations already in existence—the French Federation of Bookworkers and the Glassmakers Federation of France—are described in considerable detail.

The second part of the book discusses the so-called labor exchanges (*bourses du travail*), which are rapidly becoming an important factor in the French industrial situation. Throughout the entire book the author's attitude is one of sympathy toward labor organizations. He regards trades-unions "as a sole basis upon which it is possible to establish a rational organization of industrial society."⁴⁰

ARNOLD'S MARCH FROM CAMBRIDGE TO QUEBEC, by Justin H. Smith,⁴¹ Professor of Modern History, Dartmouth College, is a monograph which bears striking and conclusive testimony to the satisfactory results which may be

³⁷ Pp. 416. Price, \$1.75. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1903.

³⁸ Contributed by D. Y. Thomas, Ph.D.

³⁹ *Syndicats ouvriers, Federations, Bourses du Travail*. By Leon de Seilhac. Pp. 341. Price, 3.50 fr. Paris: Armand Colin.

⁴⁰ Contributed by Dr. C. W. A. Veditz, Lewiston, Me.

⁴¹ Pp. xix, 486. Price, \$2.00. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903.

quently be had from the intensive cultivation of a very small field. Professor Smith has set himself to the single task of thoroughly investigating the topography of the route followed by Benedict Arnold and his forces on their march to Quebec during the autumn of 1775, and no one will gainsay the fidelity with which the author has performed his task.

The author begins by discussing the extent to which the route was known before Arnold's time. Attention is called to the fact that the French authorities in Canada considered it feasible in a proposed attack on Boston and that both Shirley and Pownall had it in mind as a practicable route whereby to menace Quebec. During the operations against Canada in 1759 despatches to Wolfe had been sent by way of the Kennebec and Chaudiere and a little later, General Amherst had had the route carefully examined by an engineer. Arnold, however, was the first to test its feasibility with any considerable force. Then follows an examination of "the witnesses" in the course of which the author passes sound judgment on each fragment of contemporary evidence. Of these there is, in truth, no dearth, and the main task lies in winnowing the wheat from the chaff. To this end the Journals of Arnold, Henry, Dearborn, Meigs and others; the orderly books, reports of engineers, accounts and correspondence are all scrutinized as to their accuracy and comprehensiveness. Next begins the main theme, an almost inch-by-inch tracing of the route followed.

A generous number of small maps is included in the volume, while in the matter of notes and citations the recognized canons of scientific historical writing are scrupulously observed. Indeed, the critical notes are models of their kind. Arnold's own journal is appropriately included in an appendix with explanatory notes. Bibliography and Index leave nothing to be desired. The author may rest assured that his work will never have to be performed again.⁴²

SOUTH CAROLINA AS A ROYAL PROVINCE, by Dr. W. Roy Smith,⁴³ is a welcome addition to the series of studies which present the results of research work initiated in the seminary of Colonial History of Columbia University. The present work is a most thorough and scientific study based upon contemporary sources, both printed and manuscript.

In distinction to the recent elaborate narrative history of this colony by the late General McCrady, this monograph selecting South Carolina as the type of a Royal Province essays, by means of a topical treatment to unfold its constitutional and administrative development, in the course of which many of the chief historical events are discussed in order to illustrate the political evolution. A comprehensive introductory chapter reviews the proprietary period, noting even in these early years the tendency of the Assembly to encroach upon the rights of the proprietors. Then logically follows three chapters of about fifty pages dealing with the land system. These present the relations between the king, who succeeded to the rights of the proprietors as landlords and the colonists who were the tenants, and the resulting controversies over land grants and quit rents, in

⁴² Contributed by William Bennett Munro.

⁴³ Pp. xix. 441. Price, \$2.50. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903.

both of which the king was worsted. The main part of the volume, however, is devoted to the government, treating successively the executive, the legislative and judicial departments, with chapters upon the colonial agency, the military and financial systems, and finally presenting an extended review of the events between 1760 and 1776 leading to the downfall of the royal government.

Through a study of the political and institutional development of this typical colony, the author seeks to demonstrate the truth of "the thesis that the American Revolution was the climax" of the "continual conflict between two opposing tendencies," common to the colonies in general, represented by the party of the royal prerogative on the one hand, and the popular party on the other. The first, composed of the Governor, the Council and the other crown officials, as the agents of the imperial government and the representatives of the king, stood for the monarchical principle and British interests, while the House of Assembly, as the representatives of the people stood for democracy and for what they regarded as "the rights of Englishmen." When, after 1760, the English Government attempted to strengthen the administration and curb the Assembly, the effort came too late to be successful, and only excited the growth of the spirit of rebellion in the colony, while at the same time its general colonial policy developed the sentiment of union.

In conclusion it may be said without fear of contradiction, that there is no clearer presentation of the actual workings of the legislative branch and of the various administrative organs of the royal province than that found in this volume.⁴⁴

AMONG THE WRITINGS of the early French explorers in the Mississippi Valley none has received more attention than the works of Father Louis Hennepin.⁴⁵ This has been due, not so much to their intrinsic merit, as to the barefaced mendacity of the author, who not content with vilifying La Salle with whom he was associated for a time, attempted to rob him of the credit of being the first European to explore the lower courses of the Mississippi. The love of adventure and the fascination of the unknown sentiments so deeply influencing the men of the 16th and 17th centuries, are nowhere better exemplified than in the experiences of this Flemish friar, but his actual contribution to the knowledge of North America consists in an account published by him in France in 1683 of a journey undertaken three years before at command of La Salle from the Illinois River north toward the source of the Mississippi, where he fell into the hands of the Sioux Indians and spent some months in captivity, wandering about with these savages. This account, which appeared under the title of "*Louisiane*," was translated into English by Shea in 1880. For this reason Mr. Thwaites has chosen to edit the latter, but in some respects more interesting, work of Hennepin, in which is incorporated, together with the "*Louisiane*," the apocryphal narrative of the friar's descent of the Mississippi and an account of the Indian tribes in its valley. Not-

⁴⁴ Contributed by Dr. Herman V. Ames.

⁴⁵ *Hennepin's A New Discovery in America*. Edited with introduction, notes and index by Reuben Gold Thwaites. Pp. lxiv, 711; 2 vols. Price, \$5.00. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1903.

withstanding the falsity of its claims the second part of the book contains much of interest, for it was drawn with few changes from Le Clercq's *Etablissement de la Foi*, which included the journal of Father Membre, who really made the descent of the river with La Salle in 1682. The editing of the reprint has been done with care. An introduction gives all that is known of Hennepin's life in Europe and a resumé of his American experiences.

The most valuable part of the critical apparatus is the careful and scholarly Hennepin bibliography appended to the introduction and prepared by Victor Hugo Paltsits of the Lenox Library, New York. Various attempts at such a list have been made before, notably by Harisse, Sabin, Shea, Winsor, Remington and Dionne, but they were all marked by great inaccuracy. We now have for the first time a complete and systematic bibliography of Hennepin's works.⁴⁶

THE HISTORY OF LIQUOR LICENSING IN ENGLAND, PRINCIPALLY FROM 1700 TO 1830, by Sidney and Beatrice Webb,⁴⁷ is really a chapter from a larger study they are making of English Local Government. The volume has largely an historical interest for us, but for the English who are now seeking the best means of controlling the liquor traffic it will prove of greater value, for it shows that many of the present proposals were tried—and in vain—long years ago, while the more successful plans are also clearly described.

REVIEWS

The United States in Our Own Time. A History from Reconstruction to Expansion. By E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS, Chancellor of the University of Nebraska, and sometime President of Brown University. Pp. xxxvii, 961. Price, \$5.00. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903.

This work is a continuation of the author's "History of the United States During the Last Quarter of a Century," which appeared several years ago. The plan and method of treatment of the earlier work are followed here without change. The history opens with an account of the industrial, social and political conditions in the United States at the close of reconstruction (1870) and ends with a reference to the postal frauds of 1903, embracing a period of thirty-three years and comprising a volume of nearly one thousand pages. Some of the many subjects which are fully treated are, frauds and scandals in the public service, beginning with the Tweed ring, and including the whisky frauds, the credit mobilier, the various scandals of Grant's second term, the Star route frauds, and ending with those of 1903 in the postal service. No other period in our history has been so fruitful of scandal in the public service and the uninformed reader of President Andrews' book is likely to get the impression that government frauds were matters of daily occurrence. Other subjects treated are, expositions and national anniversaries, so numerous that descriptions of them become tiresome; earthquakes, fires, floods, strikes, financial panics, Indian massacres, polar ex-

⁴⁶Contributed by Prof. A. C. Howland.

⁴⁷Pp. viii, 162. Price, \$1.00. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903.

peditions, anarchistic riots, etc. Entire chapters are devoted to Indian wars in the West, the agrarian movement in the seventies, Arctic expeditions, the World's Columbian Exposition, and the negro. The latter chapter, however, being based on the Eleventh Census, taken fourteen years ago, has little present value. The book contains a good deal of quotation and nearly one thousand illustrations, some of which add to its value as a popular work. It is, in fact, intended for popular readers and not for critical students for whom it can have little value. A serious defect consists in the inadequate treatment of political and constitutional questions which have too often been neglected for non-political matters, such as fires, floods, earthquakes, and other happenings, that have exercised no influence on the development of the country. To take an example: scarcely a page is given to our controversy with Great Britain in 1896 over the Venezuelan incident, while immediately following, the Lexow investigation in New York City and the A. P. A. controversy are each given four or five times as much treatment. Finally, the book is full of loose, inaccurate statements. To mention only two: the statement is made on page 917 that the Northern Securities Company was created with a capital stock approaching a billion dollars and on page 927 it is stated that the Elkins Act created the Department of Commerce and Labor. It should not be forgotten, however, that he who essays to write contemporary history must needs rely largely on newspaper reports for his materials and hence errors of inaccuracy are often unavoidable. In spite of all defects President Andrews' book is interestingly conceived and written and, being the only one that covers the later period of our history, it supplies a real want.

JAMES WILFORD GARNER.

Getting a Living: The Problem of Wealth and Poverty—of Profits, Wages and Trade-Unionism. By GEORGE L. BOLEN. Pp. 769. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903.

"The purpose in writing this book . . . is to give the connected and somewhat complete view that all intelligent citizens should have of the many economic divisions of the great problem of labor and life, but which . . . is possessed now by perhaps less than a tenth of even college graduates." It is a rather inclusive study of the labor problem. The twenty-eight chapters deal with such topics as "Rent and Land Ownership," "Interest," "The Employer and His Profits," "Co-operative Industry," "Profit Sharing," "Wages," "Trade-Unions and Poverty."

The author usually approaches the various problems from the point of view of a third party. The text and footnotes (of which there are entirely too many) constitute a veritable encyclopædia of miscellaneous facts. But it must be said that the author is more interested in stating what should be and what must be because of the unfailing operation of natural law, than in setting forth and explaining what actually is. In the course of his discussions Mr. Bolen gives us the results of some acute thinking and many common sense opinions. But the book brings with the good much that is bad.

In the first place, it is difficult to read. In some chapters perhaps half of

the matter is found in the footnotes, some of which must be read to get a proper understanding of the text. The style is also bad, and grammatical errors are numerous. In the second place, the material is not well organized. This makes much repetition necessary and adds to the difficulty experienced by the reader in getting at the author's thought. Again, some of the discussions are not very enlightening. The author is at such pains to justify interest and profits that little light is shed upon them. On page 52, wages, we learn, may not be higher than prices will justify, and because of the competition for laborers, they will usually be the maximum marginal employers can afford to pay. We are assured many times over that laborers will get all they produce. In the discussion of the principles determining the rate of wages, we are told that there is a "wage fund" (p. 130). "This fund consists of all that employers stand ready to spend in wages whether the money paid remains from the original starting capital, came from recent sales of product, or is yet to be obtained from sales, loans or additional investment (p. 131).

Another chapter in which the reader will be disappointed is that bearing the title: "Have Wage Workers Obtained their Share?" The average reader will expect to find information relating to what wage workers have as a matter of fact received. But of such information little will be found there or elsewhere. The author holds (p. 363) that they have obtained "a constantly increasing share of a constantly increasing product." This opinion is based upon the theory that competition among employers causes prices to fall with the diminished expense of production so that if laborers do not gain directly by obtaining higher money wages, they must gain indirectly as consumers. Inasmuch as many writers have expressed doubt as to the varying proportions in which the product has been divided, would it not have been better for the author to establish the truth of his opinion by citing facts rather than, in effect, by stating that it must be so?

But while much of the book is disappointing, it contains several very good chapters. Among others, those on "Co-operative Industry," "Profit Sharing," "The Shorter Work Day," "The Injunction in Labor Disputes," and "Prison Labor."

H. A. MILLIS.

Leland Stanford Junior University.

Militarism. A Contribution to the Peace Crusade. By GUGLIELMO FERRERO. Pp. 320. Price, \$3.50. Boston: L. C. Page & Co., 1903.

In the English version of this work the original text as published in 1898 has been modified to answer the objections of its critics, and enlarged so as to include new problems for consideration. The avowed purpose of the book is to encourage "the grand work of pacifying civilized nations," and to demonstrate that a "general European war . . . would be a world calamity and would produce incalculable evils without recompense."

The author launches his theme with a general discussion of the principles and policies that actuate the conduct of nations in reference to peace and war at the end of the nineteenth century, devoting some attention to the significance of

the brief struggle between Spain and the United States. He traces the remote origin of the instinct of war back to the brutish passions and vagaries of barbarous multitudes or "hordes," of which the followers of the Mahdi furnish a recent type. The defects of Greek and Roman civilization, and of course the militarism incident to it are then passed in review. This enables Signor Ferrero to analyze keenly the prevailing conditions in the Ottoman Empire, the "death throes" of which he finds to be a heritage from the bellicose convulsions of ancestral hordes and a manifestation of impotence before the giant strength of a European civilization whose real development is one of peace. The Napoleonic Wars constitute a natural prelude to the particular forms of militarism as evolved in the contemporary history of France, Italy, England and Germany. The character and purposes of the militarism prevailing in these countries are examined, and the relative influence of Caesarism and Jacobinism noted on the conditions more especially of the Latin states. A study of the economic forces that now tend to militate against war concludes the book. These, the author hopes, may usher in "the age of *Pax Christiana* of longer duration and more glorious than the *Pax Augusta*."

The historical method of treating the theme has led the author at times to lengthen his illustrative episodes unduly. Stilted phrases and numerous errors, also, which occur in the translation diminish the force of the propositions advanced, although they do not greatly obscure the earnestness and logical power with which Signor Ferrero has marshaled his deductions from the past and assumptions from the present. The impartial reader, nevertheless, is hardly convinced that the primary instincts of the human race have become so altered in the course of civilization as to render the love of country any the less sensitive to dishonor, or the desire for national and individual aggrandizement any the less inclined to profit by an opportunity, even at the risk of war.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

Columbia University.

Tenement House Problem. Including the Report of the New York State Tenement House Commission of 1900. By various writers. Edited by Robert W. de Forest and Lawrence Veiller. Pp. xxx, 470; 516. Two vols. Price, \$6.00. New York: Macmillan Company, 1903.

These volumes contain more helpful material on the housing problem and ways to meet it than any score of volumes hitherto published. They will be classics wherever public or individual interest in the housing conditions of the working classes exists. In fact, they will be needed wherever social needs are scrutinized and social wrongs challenged, for, while primarily devoted to housing they contain valuable chapters on tuberculosis, the social evil, public baths, immigration policy, playgrounds and park systems. Very properly is the study designed as a "contribution to the causes of municipal reform, to report progress made, and to guide progress still to come." These volumes are the production of two men who more than any others were responsible for the successful installa-

tion of New York's Tenement Department, as well as for the agitation leading immediately to the legislation creating that Department.

The first volume, of nearly five hundred pages, is devoted to problems peculiar to tenements. The historical resumé is followed by a critical exposition of the essentials of the tenement problem and the essentials of remedial and preventive policies. This discussion is of interest to builders, and statesmen, as well as lay students. The chapter on the period 1834-1890 is of a high order of historical writing, it seems to the reviewer, in that it marshals facts and lines them up "according to height." Essentials stand out so clearly that even casual reading shows both the greatness of the ideals and the weakness in execution of the organizations that waged the early battles against overcrowding. True, it is easier to see in retrospect the need for sustained effort and eternal vigilance than it was when distinct gains seemed to have been achieved. But to us who review the history of over a half century of agitation, the lesson is clear. An incomplete victory means sure defeat, or to paraphrase the Indian hater, "the only safe problem is a dead problem."

Descriptive matter follows containing facts with regard to housing in various American and European cities, with interesting illustrations. Special studies are added on The Non-Enforcement of Laws in New Buildings, Fires and Fire-Escapes, Back-to-Back Tenements, Sanitation, Small Houses for Working Men, Financial Aspects of Recent Tenement House Operations in New York, Speculative Building, The Tenant's Side, The Inspector's Side, Tuberculosis in Tenements.

The second volume of about five hundred pages deals with the collateral or incidental problems mentioned above. Here again illustrations render excellent service in telling the story of baths, playgrounds, etc. The various appendices give the proceedings of the New York Commission, testimony, etc., the new code, the act which created the present department, other proposed legislation, valuable data as to rentals, and illuminating schedules which will help wherever an investigation is intended.

WILLIAM H. ALLEN.

New York City.

Contemporary France. By GABRIEL HANOTAUX. Translated by JOHN CHARLES TARVER. With portraits. Vol. I. (1870-1873). Pp. xiv, 696. Price, \$3.75. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903.

M. Hanotaux brings to the writing of his "History of Contemporary France" an unusual combination of abilities as an historian, for he combines with the scientific training of a man of letters a practical experience derived from having been premier of France some years ago. Moreover, the "atmosphere" of the period of which he writes was actually breathed by him. As he himself says, speaking of the war of 1870: "I was at that time sixteen. The generation to which I belong was barely emerging from childhood: it saw everything, its intellect was matured by that cruel spectacle. I came to Paris to begin my studies some months after the commune. The city was dejected and there were traces of

hidden agitation. From that time pressing questions arose in me: What had been the causes of the greatness of France in the past? What were the causes of her defeat? What would be the moving forces in her approaching resurrection? My manhood has applied itself to the solution of the problems put by my youth. It has sometimes allowed itself to be diverted from its studies, but it has never lost sight of them." (p. viii.)

Beginning with the condition of France in 1870, M. Hanotaux shows how specious were the foundations of the imperial régime of Napoleon III.; how "he had the power to reign only by abandoning himself body and soul to the policy of intervention;" how "like the illustrious founder of his race, he was obliged to war and condemned to a succession of victories." (p. i.) Contrasting the characters of Napoleon III. and the great Bonaparte, he sums up the two respectively in this phrase: "The one had genius; the other, ingenuity." (p. 2.) In tracing the origins of the Franco-Prussian War he seems to spare the Empress Eugenie as much as he deals out blame to the Emperor. As to the events of the war itself, they are briefly passed over, and almost the entire book is taken up with the political complications ensuing after Sedan. Some of the facts which he discusses are of exceeding interest: notably, the early determination of Prussia to demand Alsace-Lorraine (pp. 18-19), and the evidence that Bismarck was opposed to this demand, but was forced into it by the Prussian general staff—a difference of opinion which resulted in a bitter breach between Bismarck and Moltke, (indeed, much of the writing of the book revolves around the divided sentiments of the great German minister and the German general, and the hostility existing between Thiers and Gambetta); the nature and extent of the Prussian domination in France, which was so complete that the elections of February, 1871, took place under the eyes of the enemy: "In forty-three departments postal communication was forbidden, and circulation in the departments under occupation was very nearly impossible In that part of our territory the electoral decrees were posted up by the agency of the German authorities." (p. 30.) In passing it may be stated that the extent and efficiency of the Prussian administration of France here alluded to is a very interesting matter to follow up in M. Hanotaux's book.

Throughout the book admirable character sketches are to be found; the judgment of Bismarck, all things considered, is a moderate one. The book as a whole might just as well have been called a history of the ministry of Thiers under the Third Republic, for in reality he is the central figure. Readers of Mr. Andrew D. White's "Recollections," now appearing in one of the current magazines who read his biting criticism of Thiers, will be interested especially in the judgment of a compatriot of the little minister.

The present volume concludes with May 24, 1873, culminating in the fall of the government of Thiers. The succeeding volume, it is promised, will be devoted to the presidency of Marshal MacMahon and the founding of the Republic; while the third and fourth will deal with the history of the parliamentary republic. For the satisfaction of the interested reader the author assures us that "I have

made arrangements so that the four volumes may follow one another in rapid succession."

The English edition is not all that one might wish, for the reader who is sensitive either to good English or to good French will find much to pardon. Such slipshod phraseology as "woken up" (p. 5), "notoriety" used for fame (pp. 53 and 64), "He (Bismarck) was always on deck" (p. 115) are examples of the loose parlance that abounds. There is a curious literalness also in the translation of French abstract terms, for the translator continually translates the article with the noun; e. g., "*the* democracy," when speaking of democracy as a principle of government.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

University of Chicago,

Autobiography of Seventy Years. By GEORGE F. HOAR. With portraits. Two volumes. Pp. ix, 434, and viii, 493. Price, \$7.50. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903.

Ex-Senator George F. Edmunds is reputed to have once credited Senator Hoar with being one of the half dozen men who did the whole work of the Senate. However this may be, Senator Hoar's continuous service in the Senate exceeds in length that of any other man now living, and he has represented Massachusetts in the Senate for a longer period than any of the other great men who have served that ancient Commonwealth in the Upper House. For thirty-six years he has been a member of one or the other House of Congress, and almost from his first entrance into the Senate he has occupied a position of leadership among the able men of that distinguished body. During twenty-two of his twenty-seven years in the Senate, he has been a member of the Judiciary Committee, and during about half of the time he has served as its chairman. The personal recollections of few public men, therefore, should be more entertaining and instructive than those of Senator Hoar. Of the volumes under review it truly can be said, that so far as genuine entertainment is concerned, they hardly can be excelled by the reminiscences of any of our public men. Senator Hoar's style has a certain charm about it that never fails to hold the interest of the reader. He possesses a rich fund of anecdotes which is frequently drawn upon to enliven the pages of his story, while his abundant illustrations from the classics give evidence of his wide reading and scholarship.

But to the serious student the autobiography is not all that could be wished for. It does not begin to approach Grant's *Memoirs* in compactness, information and dignity, while it falls below some of the latter military reminiscences in one or the other of these qualities. Trivial incidents and personal references, despite the author's disclaimer that he is not a vain man, abound altogether too frequently. Irrelevant matter, such as is found in the chapters on the "Saturday Club," the "Worcester Fire Society," the "Forest of Dean," etc., still further swells the compass of the "autobiography." Here and there chapters not exceeding two pages in amount and dealing with unimportant incidents are thrown in, thus giving the story a scrappy appearance.

The most valuable features of the autobiography are the portraits of public men whom Senator Hoar has known. The more important of these are found in the chapters, entitled "Some Judges I have Known," "Some Orators I have Heard," "Some Southern Senators," and "Leaders of the Senate in 1877." It is somewhat surprising to note the high estimate which he has placed upon some of the Southern leaders whom he has known but always opposed uncompromisingly. Thus a whole chapter, entitled "President Cleveland's Judges," is in fact devoted to an appreciation of Justice L. Q. C. Lamar. Among Republican leaders Webster, Sumner, Chase and Henry Wilson are the subjects of extended eulogy. Conkling, he thinks, was not the equal of either Blaine, Sherman or Carl Schurz. Only in dealing with General Butler does the venerable Senator lose his moderation. An entire chapter is devoted to Butler's "record" and a severe judgment passed upon his public character. Aside from portraits of public men there is an excellent chapter on Harvard sixty years ago; there are also chapters on "Four National Conventions," the "Credit Mobilier," the "Foundation of the Republican Party," the "Political History of Massachusetts," and many others of less importance.

J. W. GARNER

Lavisse: *Histoire de France*, Tome V, Part 1, *Les Guerres d'Italie—La France sous Charles VIII., Louis XII. et François Ier (1492-1547)*. Par HENRY LEMONNIER. Pp. 394. Price, 6 fr. Paris: Hachette, 1903.

Lavisse: *Histoire de France*, Tome V, 2, *La Lutte contre la maison d'Autriche. La France sous Henri II. (1519-1559)*. Par HENRY LEMONNIER. Pp. 380. Price, 6 fr. Paris: Hachette, 1904.

The co-operative *Histoire de France* has reached the sixteenth century. In Part I of Volume V, M. Lemonnier describes the evolution in politics, administration and intellectual life from 1492 to 1547. About one-third of the volume is taken up by the Italian wars, which brought France into contact with all Europe. Excellent chapters describe the growth of centralism and absolutism. A large space relatively (about one-quarter of the volume) is devoted to the intellectual evolution. Finally, there is a compact account of the beginnings of the Reformation movement in France.

The transformation from feudal conditions is clearly marked in the government, in the finances, in the formation of the new nobility. In the Church, too, the Concordat of 1516 brought about a great change from mediæval conditions. As a whole, the volume gives the impression of rapid evolution in all the spheres of national activity.

The economic situation under Francis I., the new literary and artistic movements, and the character of some of the chief actors, are especially well portrayed. Instead of being a confused mass of material, relating, sometimes to the political life, sometimes to the wars, sometimes to the intellectual and religious phases of the time, M. Lemonnier has succeeded in producing a well-proportioned narrative, in which each subject is described briefly but satisfactorily. He has paid greater attention than the authors of the preceding parts to the fine arts and to pedagogy.

In fact, as noted above, the general impression, both as a whole and when we examine the volume in detail, is that France is entering upon a new sphere of life, that the Middle Ages have been left definitely behind, and that France is taking the shape which she will retain until the Revolution, and, in part, until the present day.

The first two books in this second part of Vol. V are entitled, respectively: *La Lutte entre François I^{er} et Charles-Quint* (1519-1547) and *La Politique d'Henri II.* The author's judgment on the matters in these two books may be gathered from his statements on pp. 180, 181 and 182. "*Les rois de France furent médiocres dans la politique et dans la guerre. * * * François I^{er} s'acharna à la reprise du Milanais, Henri II. laissa renaître la chimère des expéditions napolitaines.*

"*Dans les combinaisons diplomatiques, Charles VIII. et Louis XII. avaient montré toute leur inexpérience. François I^{er}, avec un sentiment plus juste des nécessités pratiques, manqua d'esprit de suite. * * * Quant à Henri II., on ne voit pas très bien ce qu'il a voulu. * * * Les opérations militaires ne furent guère mieux conduites. * * * Les rois ne surent pas trouver d'hommes de mérite.*

"** * * En réalité, le royaume s'est soutenu et il a grandi à cette époque par la classe moyenne.*"

"*En 1559, une ère est close. Les conditions de la politique internationale vont se transformer, ou plutôt il n'y a plus de politique internationale au sens étroit du mot, car les intérêts se subordonnent à des passions, et ce qui divise surtout les nations et les hommes, ce sont des divergences religieuses.*" * * *

The next book is devoted to Calvinism, its expansion and organization. In Book X ("*La Formation de l'esprit Classique en France*"), it is clearly shown that this led to an almost mediæval deference to authority. "*Ils eurent le respect presque superstitieux des maîtres, à condition que ces maîtres fussent les Anciens. En tout ce qui venait des Grecs et des Romains, l'esprit du temps ne faisait aucune différence entre le meilleur et le pire. On cite, on admire les auteurs médiocres presque à l'égal des grands; on accepte, même en matière scientifique, les assertions les plus hasardées. Presque personne, par exemple, ne songe à discuter les récits les plus étranges de Plin^e l'Ancien. Les ouvrages d'érudition ne sont bien souvent que des recueils de citations non contrôlées.*" (p. 281.) The author does not, however, neglect the reaction. He shows (on p. 285) that all the world did not take part in this extreme love of humanism. The old romances were reprinted in the second half of the fifteenth century and the old mysteries were still played.

In Book XI, M. Lemonnier discusses the literature and the fine arts. He does not belittle the good effects of the Renaissance. "*Elle suscita tout d'abord un grand mouvement d'idées, un élargissement d'horizon pour les esprits, de nobles curiosités, la passion de savoir.*" But his final judgment of its work is: "*Ainsi se prépara 'l'honnête homme' du XVII^e siècle, nourri dans le culte des anciens, formé par une éducation tout intellectuelle, propre à concevoir un certain idéal de beauté littéraire et artistique, mais fermé à toute conception qui n'était pas classique, peu curieux le plus souvent de connaissances scientifiques, aussi incapable de comprendre Shakespeare que de s'intéresser à Newton, indifférent aux problèmes politiques ou sociaux, dédaigneux des questions économiques et industrielles, isolé*

dans la sphère de la pensée pure et dans le monde antique où il s'enferme. Pour lui, l'Europe reste toujours celle des Grecs et des Romains, et l'Amérique n'a pas été découverte."

It is unnecessary to add that the work is thoroughly scholarly and abreast of the most recent research. The outlines and quotations above will give a better idea of the nature of the work as a whole than would be possible in any brief criticism.

D. C. MUNRO.

University of Wisconsin.

The Truth About the Trusts. A Description and Analysis of the American Trust Movement. By JOHN MOODY. Pp. xxii, 514. Price, \$5.00. New York: Moody Publishing Company, 1904.

Trusts of To-day. Facts Relating to their Promotion, Financial Management and the Attempts at State Control. By GILBERT HOLLAND MONTAGUE, A. M. Pp. xvii, 219. Price, \$1.20. New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1904.

The importance of the trust question is indicated by the rapidly increasing volume of literature devoted to that subject. The comprehensive reports of the Industrial Commission and the excellent little book, prepared by Professor Jenks, summarizing the main conclusions he had reached as the result of his connection with the Industrial Commission and others of less note, are now supplemented by Mr. Moody's volume on "The Truth About the Trusts." This book is a compilation of information made possible by the activity of Mr. Moody's Bureau of Corporation Statistics which was established to secure the data required for the publication annually of "Moody's Manual of Corporation Securities." This Manual has within the short space of four years come to fill a useful place in the current literature regarding corporations.

"The Truth About the Trusts" contains four parts: (1) an introduction devoted mainly to definitions of the Trusts, of Monopoly, and of Watered Capital; (2), a description, history and analysis of the greater and lesser Industrial Trusts, of the more important franchise trusts, and of the larger groups of railroads; (3), the classified statistics of the three kinds of trusts just mentioned, and (4) a general review of the trust movement, containing a statement of the magnitude and power of the trusts, and a brief discussion of "so-called remedies." There is appended to the book a brief list of books and articles treating of the trust question.

The larger part of the volume, and by far the most valuable part, is devoted to a description and the history of the "seven greater Industrial Trusts" and eighty-five of the "lesser Industrial Trusts." Every student of the trust question must feel indebted to Mr. Moody for the compilation of this descriptive and historical material.

The next most important feature of the book is the "classified statistics of trusts." The statistics cover 318 active Industrial Trusts. The total number of combinations—industrial, franchise and transportation—listed in the volume is 445. The information contained in this statistical compilation is so valuable that the author's summary may well be briefly stated in this review. He says:

"The aggregate capitalization outstanding in the hands of the public of the 318 important and active Industrial Trusts in this country is at the present time no less than \$7,246,342,533, representing, in all, consolidations of nearly 5,300 distinct plants, and covering practically every line of productive industry in the United States."

"Of the 318 active Industrial Trusts here given, 236 have been incorporated since January 1, 1898, and 170 are organized under New Jersey laws. Those incorporated prior to January 1, 1898 (the year in which the modern Trust-forming period really dates its beginning), represent a total capitalization of but \$1,196,724,310, while those formed since that date make an aggregate of \$6,049,618,223." Speaking of the extent to which these trusts exercise control in their respective industries or markets, Mr. Moody says that the percentages "range all the way from 10 % to 95 %, and there are many cases in which the Trust does not control more than 40 %. Of the total 92, however, 78 control 50 % or more of their product, and 57 control 60 % or more. Twenty-six control 80 % or over."

The author's list of important Franchise Trusts includes 111 entries. "In this list are embraced important public service consolidations, including telephone, telegraph, gas, electric light and other electric railway companies, representing about 1,336 original corporations. The total outstanding capitalization of these Franchise Trusts is as reported, \$3,735,456,071."

In discussing railroad consolidations Mr. Moody describes six groups or "Communities of Interest," which together "represent a combined outstanding capitalization (par value of stocks and bonds) of \$9,397,363,907, or nearly 80 % of all the floating railroad capitalization of this country." Mr. Moody says these six railroad groups control directly and indirectly, "nearly 95 % of the vital and American railway mileage." "This railway consolidation embraces about 1,040 original companies."

"Thus it will be seen that including industrial, franchise, transportation and miscellaneous, about 445 active trusts are represented in the book with a total capitalization of \$20,379,162,551. They embrace in all about 8,664 original companies."

"To analyze these figures slightly in detail we find that of the Industrial Trusts 10 have \$100,000,000 capitalization or over, 30 have \$50,000,000 or over and 129 have \$10,000,000 or over. Of the Franchise Trusts 11 exceed \$100,000,000, 23 exceed \$50,000,000 and 94 exceed \$5,000,000. Of the six Great Railroad Groups, all exceed \$1,000,000,000 capital, while the Morgan Group exceeds \$2,200,000,000."

Mr. Moody's account of the grouping of railroads by Communities of Interest, though brief, is instructive; but his discussion of the causes which have brought about railway consolidations, is a decidedly weak and trite rehearsal of the facts compiled by C. F. Beach, Jr., Esq., in a brief prepared for submission to the Supreme Court, in connection with the Northern Securities case.

Mr. Moody's summary of the Trust problem in his "General Review of the Trust Movement" is disappointing. What he says about the magnitude and

powerful influences of the Trusts is based on concrete data and is highly valuable, but what the author says regarding the remedies, reveals a superficial knowledge of the literature and laws regarding trusts; and his general conclusion shows a narrow bias against all governmental interference with the activities of the powerful trusts. There is much said against existing legislation regarding trusts, but nothing against the control of production and prices by unregulated combinations. Moody says: "It is a peculiar fact that while the term monopoly is more or less obnoxious to us all, the thing itself does not seem to be."

Mr. Montague has written a readable and well-balanced little book in which he discusses the views of the Industrial Commission regarding trusts, considers the recent legislation of the States and Congress, analyzes the recent decisions of the courts on questions involving the common and statutory law as applied to monopoly and restraint of trade, and sets forth the work accomplished by Ex-Attorney General Knox. The general reader will find the book a good survey of the Trust problem.

Six chapters of the volume deal with the development of industrial combination, the savings of combination, the evils of practical monopoly, the evils in present trust organizations, the history of anti-trust legislation and the outlook for trust regulation.

The conclusion reached in discussing the evils of practical monopoly, is that the ills connected with the industrial monopolies tend to correct themselves, but that the evils of "railway discrimination stand out as the ill that is not self corrective." The other abuse calling for correction by law is found in the "defective organization and faulty management" of modern trusts. "Over capitalization," the author says, "is the first great evil of modern trust organizations." This evil tends to correct itself so slowly, that some statutory remedy must be applied.

Mr. Montague summarizes his views concerning the method by which the trust question may be solved, in the following words: "By enforcing publicity in interstate trading corporations—assuming that the trusts are demonstrably engaged in interstate commerce—the whole evil arising from the form of modern trust organization might be corrected. By strengthening the Interstate Commerce Act to prevent freight discrimination, the whole evil of practical monopoly might be corrected. These two last remedies, be it noted, carry in themselves the cure of most trust ills. In harmony with stricter State corporation laws, enacted along the lines laid down by the proposed New York Companies' Act and the recommendations of the Industrial Commission these remedies might relieve the trust situation."

EMORY R. JOHNSON.

Introduction to Economics. By HENRY ROGERS SEAGER, Ph.D., Adjunct Professor of Political Economy, Columbia University. Pp. 565. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1904.

Counting works that have already been published and others that are likely to appear during the coming months the present year will prove uniquely productive of high-grade college text-books in economics. But if none other had appeared or were to appear than the book before us, the year would still have been rich in product, for Professor Seager not only has given us an unusual text-book, but he has made as well an important, if not original, contribution to the literature of economics. Indeed, it is not too much to say that he has brought the work of contemporary American theorists into its proper relation to the work of Professor Marshall, much as Professor Marshall himself had already adjusted the theories of the Austrian economists to those of the English classical school.

The book naturally divides itself into three parts. The first, comprehending two chapters, deals with the economic history of England and of the United States. The remaining two parts are evenly proportioned between an exposition of the principles of economists and an application of those principles to practical problems.

The historical sketches are more than mere statistical summaries in that they picture significant tendencies quite as clearly as they do important facts. The chapters on practical problems are models of exposition and argumentation, the treatment of the trust and labor problems being particularly clear and comprehensive. The point of view throughout this part of the work, although far from concealing the existence of present-day evils and the desirability of reform, is quite conservative, and the discussion sane, dignified and fearless.

But from the standpoint of the economist the theoretical portion of the book is of chief interest, for the author has on the whole very acceptably performed the task of re-interpreting and harmonizing various more or less isolated and apparently divergent theories. The chapter on the consumption of wealth distinctly shows the influence of Professor Patten's writings, as do those on production the work of Professor Marshall. Like Marshall the author thinks that relevancy to actual facts, if not to the needs of economic theory, demands that land be regarded and treated as one of four distinct factors in production: land, labor, capital and business organization. In his comparatively exhaustive treatment

of distribution, however, at least as regards essentials he places himself squarely on the same footing with those adherents of the productivity theory to whom the above classification of the factors of production seems to be especially objectionable. To his view, as to theirs, under normal or static conditions each factor gets what it produces. In the development of the theory the mathematical method with its use of the marginal and differential concepts is employed throughout. In his treatment of the rent of land gradations between different kinds of land and the different powers in each kind are regarded as so far from being infinitesimal as to warrant a classification analogous to the author's classification of labor groups—which, it may be added, is modeled after Cairns' theory of non-competing groups. From a pedagogical standpoint the whole discussion of distribution is full of difficulties, for except under the most skillful exposition at the hands of a thoroughly equipped teacher the average student will fail to eliminate the frictional forces from his view of normal economic processes and will not acquire the habit of reasoning in marginals and differentials. On the other hand, frequent, thorough and accurate summaries of arguments here as elsewhere in the book, and unambiguous and consistent use of terms (*e. g.*, in the distinctions between capital and capital goods, between cost and expense and between painful effort and sacrifice) ought to do much to neutralize these difficulties.

In conclusion it ought to be said of the work as a whole that the author's manifest attempt to make it at once concise, comprehensive and authoritative, although adding to its merit as a treatise on economics, is likely to detract from its usefulness as a text-book with students of immature mind. But even when this has been said the reviewer cannot avoid the opinion that the book is altogether the best introduction to the study of economics that has yet been written.

ROSSELL C. MCCREA.

Bowdoin College.

The Expansion of Russia, 1815-1900. FRANCIS HENRY SKRINE, F.S.S. Pp. viii, 386. Price, 6s. Cambridge: University Press, 1903.

A concise historical account of the expansion of Russia in the nineteenth century, relating not only to the military and diplomatic events connected with it, but also exposing the underlying racial and economic causes, would be a welcome addition to the ever increasing literature on the Eastern situation. Mr. Skrine's book, however, only partially meets this need. The title which he has chosen is not a true index of the contents. The work is in reality a general history of Russia written after the style of the Oxford series of European History, edited by Hassall. The author has not made the salient features of Russian expansion the central theme of his book, but has simply grouped the events of foreign and domestic importance under the reigns covering the period with which he deals. True to English precedent, he treats politics and diplomacy with great detail. Considerable attention is devoted to the part played by Alexander I. in the European settlement of 1815, to the Russification and government of Poland, to the Turkish question, and to the advance in Asia. One of the most interesting features of the book is the attitude which the author, a retired Indian

civil servant, takes toward Anglo-Russian relations in the East. While believing that the true interests of Russia lie in the Asiatic rather than in the European advance, Mr. Skrine scouts the idea of Russian designs upon British dominions. Quite rightly he regards the successive stages of Russian advance into the south-east as the result of unforeseen and inevitable circumstances rather than of a far-sighted and conscious policy. The Russian movements in the direction of India he considers merely as menaces to England in case the latter power attempts to thwart her real purpose in the Asiatic advance which is the opening of Eastern trade routes through the ice free ports. The author condemns British foreign policy in the East as "one of undignified protest and panic," and pleads for a *modus vivendi* and cordial relations between the two countries. This view is held by a large number of Englishmen—even Lord Beaconsfield thought Asia wide enough for both Russia and England—but the logic of recent events may alter their opinion. Had Mr. Skrine written his book after the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, he might not have been so optimistic, even though he regards Japan as intoxicated by the "lust of dominion"—a species of intoxication not peculiar to that people. In the competition for the land-borne Indian trade and predominance in Persia, the author considers Germany "a more subtle antagonist than England." On the Finnish question, Mr. Skrine takes middle ground, holding that "perfidious patriotism has led the Finlanders to forget past favors and the wisdom of conciliating their mighty neighbor," while Russia "might probably have secured all her aims by adopting strictly legal methods and appealing to the steadfast loyalty of the Finnish people." Russian social and economic questions are not neglected in the book, although their interesting character makes one wish that more space had been devoted to them. Domestic reforms in civil and military administration, abolition of serfdom, extension of the railway system and, especially, the industrial developments of the last quarter of a century are treated somewhat at length. Mr. Skrine believes in the "intrinsic soundness" of the new capitalist undertakings, notwithstanding some apparent instability. He points out the imminence of the social revolution which must follow the shifting of economic forces and classes brought about by the industrial revolution. The book closes with a brief account of the Tsar's peace circular and The Hague Conference, which is held to be "not devoid of solid results." The value of the work is enhanced by a full and well-selected bibliography, a carefully prepared index, and three maps—two of which are of special importance, showing step by step the extension of the frontiers and the present expanse of the Empire with all its important railway trunk lines.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

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NOTES

I. MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

Denver.—Home Rule for Cities.¹ The Twentieth Article—better known as the Rush Amendment—to the Constitution of Colorado, was, on the 18th day of March, 1901, submitted to the electors of the State and, by them, ratified at the general election in November. The Governor, by proclamation, declared the amendment in force December 1. Immediately the courts were asked to pass on the constitutionality of the amendment. The decision of the Supreme Court, sustaining the constitutionality of the amendment, was handed down February 27, 1903.

While the amendment was intended, principally, to create the "City and County of Denver," and give it home rule, there was added a section extending the privilege of home rule to cities of the first and second classes if they desired it. But not one of these cities has taken advantage of the opportunity to adopt a charter and govern itself under organic laws of its own creating.

The charter adopted by the First Charter Convention of Denver, in session from June 9 to August 1, 1903, was rejected by the people. A second Charter Convention has been held and a new charter, radically different from the first, is now before the people. If it is rejected, March 29, a new election for members of a third Convention must be held within thirty days, and the members elected must proceed to the making of a new charter. In the meantime the organic laws of Denver remain the same as they were when the Twentieth Article went into effect. If the people ratify the present proposed charter, it becomes the organic law of the "City and County of Denver" as soon as the City Clerk files two duly certified copies of the same with the Secretary of State. The legislature has no authority in the matter.

The question of most serious import is, Is the City and County of Denver entirely without the jurisdiction of the State Legislature.

The amendment declares that Denver "shall have the exclusive power to amend its charter, or adopt a new charter, or to adopt any measure," and further declares that "no such charter, charter amendment or measure shall diminish the tax rate for State purposes fixed by an Act of the General Assembly," or interfere with the collection of State taxes. In the case of *State of Colorado, ex rel Elder vs. Sours*, in which the constitutionality of the Twentieth Article was determined, Justice Campbell declared Denver to be "absolutely free from all constitutional restraint and from any supervision by the General Assembly." But Justice Steele declared: "The provision that every charter shall designate the officers who shall, respectively, perform the acts and duties required of county

¹ Communication of Professor Frank H. Roberts, University of Denver, March 15, 1904.

officers to be done by the Constitution or by the general law, as far as they are applicable, completely contradicts the assumption that regards such duties as being subject to local regulation and control."

After naming the officer to perform some strictly county duty, the Charter Convention, then, said he, "shall perform the duties of the office of — as prescribed by the general laws of the State," or by the Constitution, "and such other duties not inconsistent with such laws as the Council may by ordinance direct." But in matters that are purely municipal the charter either prescribes the duties or leaves them to be prescribed by ordinance.

It is generally believed that it will require a great deal of litigation to determine exactly the status of Denver.

Missouri.—*Home Rule for Cities.*² The Constitution of Missouri, adopted in 1875, and now in force, empowered the city of St. Louis to frame a charter for its own government. (Article 9, Sections 20 to 23 inclusive.) The Constitution also authorizes cities having a population of more than 100,000 to frame a charter for their own government. (Article 9, Section 16.) Under these Constitutional provisions, the charter must be consistent with and subject to the Constitution and laws of the State. The charter is first prepared by a Board of thirteen freeholders, and is then to be submitted to the qualified voters of the city at an election held for that purpose. If a majority of the electors voting at the election in St. Louis, or four-sevenths of the qualified voters in other cities, ratify the same, the proposed charter becomes the charter of the city and supersedes any existing charter or amendments thereto. The Constitution provides, in cities other than St. Louis, that the charter shall, among other things, provide for a Mayor and two Houses of the Municipal Council, one of which, at least, shall be elected by general ticket.

The people of the former county of St. Louis, on August 22, 1876, ratified the "Scheme and Charter" prepared under the authority of the Constitution, and this became the charter of St. Louis sixty days thereafter. (State ex rel Finn, 4 Mo. App. 347). Kansas City has accepted the charter-framing privilege and adopted a charter, which became operative May 9, 1889. (Kansas City vs. Bacon, 147 Mo. 259.) The Constitution provides that the charter shall become operative in the City of St. Louis sixty days after ratification by the voters, and in other cities thirty days thereafter; and that a copy shall be filed in the office of the Secretary of State and one recorded in the office of the Recorder of Deeds, in the county in which the city lies, and thereafter all courts shall take judicial notice thereof. Approval by the legislature is unnecessary. The State legislature has no power to amend such charter. The Constitution provides that such charters may be amended only by the qualified voters of the city.

There are only three cities in Missouri of sufficient population to take advantage of this provision of the Constitution, and of these St. Louis and Kansas City have availed themselves of the privilege. In no instance has such charter been rejected by the people.

² Communication of H. L. McCune, Esq., Kansas City, Mo.

Charters drawn under the authority of the constitution "must be consistent with and subject to the laws of the state." This provision has been construed by the Supreme Court as limiting the municipality to legislating only with reference to matters of purely local concern. It has therefore been held that where the provisions of a city charter creating a board of police commissioners conflict with an act of the legislature governing the same subject, the charter provisions must give way. This for the reason that laws providing for a metropolitan police system for large cities are based on the elementary proposition that preservation of the public peace is a governmental duty resting upon the state and not upon the city. [*State vs. Police Commissioners*, 71 S. W., Rep., 215].

The provisions of the state statute with reference to the payment of expenses of the police department and of the salary rolls also supersede the charter provision governing the method of apportioning and paying city funds, and the municipality must pay such expenses when the police board has certified the amount thereof. [*State vs. Mason*, 153, Mo., 23].

Washington.—Home Rule for Cities.³ The Constitution of Washington provides that "any city containing a population of 20,000 inhabitants or more shall be permitted to frame a charter for its own government consistent with and subject to the Constitution and laws of this State." The charter of any such city must be framed by fifteen freeholders elected by the qualified voters and ratified by a majority of the voters voting thereon. "Such charter may be amended by proposals therefor submitted by the legislative authority of such city to the electors thereof at any general election" and ratified by a majority of those voting thereon. The Constitution further provides that "any county, city, town, or township, may make and enforce within its limits all such local, police, sanitary and other regulations as are not in conflict with general laws."

The indebtedness of cities is limited by the Constitution to one and one-half per cent. of the taxable property therein, except with the assent of three-fifths of the voters, at an election held for that purpose, in which case the total indebtedness shall not exceed five per cent. of the assessed value of all taxable property. For the purpose of supplying the city with water, light and drainage, owned and controlled by the municipality, a further indebtedness of five per cent. may be incurred, if assented to in the manner above mentioned.

The first legislature after the admission of Washington as a State passed what is known as the Enabling Act, for cities of the first class, which enumerated the powers of such cities and authorized them "to provide in their respective charters for a method to propose and adopt amendments thereto."

The method of amending city charters was before the legislature again in 1895, when an Act was passed requiring the City Council, on petition of one-fourth of the qualified voters, to cause an election to be held for the choice of freeholders to propose changes in the existing charter. An Act of the last legislature conferred the power to propose amendments to a city charter upon application of fifteen per cent. of the qualified electors.

³ Communication of Professor J. Allen Smith, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.

Many Acts have been passed changing the general law applicable to, and amending the charters of, cities of the first-class. The Constitution recognizes the principle of municipal self-government, but permits the legislature to determine how far the principle shall be carried in practice. The Supreme Court of this State has intimated that the constitutional provisions recognizing the right of municipal self-government are not self-executing, and does not seem disposed to concede to cities of the first-class any important powers, except such as have been expressly conferred by statute. For example, the statutes of Washington authorize cities of the first-class "to regulate and control the use" of gas supplied by a private corporation, and the charter of Tacoma gave the City Council power to fix the price of gas so supplied. Suit was brought to enjoin the city from exercising this power. The city of Tacoma claimed this power under the constitutional and statutory authority given to cities of the first-class. The Supreme Court held, however, that while it had the power to regulate and control, expressly given it by statute, it did not have the power to fix the price.

Duluth.—"Home Rule" Charters in Minnesota.⁴ Some years since, the question of charter revision prominently engaged the larger municipalities of the State of Minnesota. In 1897 the legislature of Minnesota (see Chap. 280, General Laws of 1897) proposed an amendment to the State Constitution granting to cities, and villages desiring to incorporate as cities, the privilege, under certain specified restrictions, of framing their own charters. This amendment was voted upon at the general election on November 8, 1898, and was carried, the vote standing 68,754 for, and 32,068 against, the same. It became operative through the proclamation of the Governor of the State on December 29, 1898.

The Constitutional amendment expressly provides that the local law shall be consistent with the laws of the State, and specifies in detail numerous governing provisions:

1. The several charters are to be prepared by Boards of Charter Commissioners, composed of fifteen freeholders of the respective localities, appointed by the judge or judges of the local district courts. The charters must be submitted, upon thirty days' published notice, to popular vote; and, upon receiving the affirmative vote of four-sevenths of the qualified voters voting at the election, are thirty days thereafter to become effective.
2. The said Boards are permanent bodies, vacancies in which are to be filled in the same manner as original appointments are made, and the term of office of the several members thereof shall not exceed six years.
3. Amendments may be proposed by the Board and submitted to popular vote, and must be so submitted on petition of five per cent. of the legal voters. A three-fifths affirmative vote is necessary for their adoption.
4. It is a prescribed feature of all such charters that they shall provide for a chief magistrate and a legislative body of either one or two houses; and, if of two houses, that at least one of them shall be elected by the general vote of the electors.

The State legislature, on April 20, 1899 (see General Laws of 1899, Chap.

⁴ Communication of W. G. Joerns, Duluth, Minn.

351), passed the required Enabling Act, which, in the main, followed closely the language of the Constitutional amendment, but fixed the term of office of the Charter Commissioners at four years; and provided, that "such charters may provide for regulating and controlling the exercise of any public franchise or privilege in any of the streets or public places in such cities, whether granted by such municipality or by or under the State or any other authority;" that no perpetual franchises shall be granted, and no exclusive franchise except on a majority vote of the qualified voters, and then not for a period exceeding ten years. Substantial restrictions are also placed upon the debt-creating capacity of the municipalities.

From the foregoing it is, therefore, evident that:

1. Such charters need not receive the approval of the State legislature before taking effect; albeit the legislature was first required to make the Constitutional amendment effective by the passage of the Enabling Act before referred to.

2. The power of the State legislature to amend individual charters is circumscribed by a Constitutional inhibition on special legislation and the provision in the charter amendment providing for general legislation as applied to specified classes. How far the legislature might, by general laws not entrenching on the provisions of the Constitutional amendment, affect the provisions of local charters, as for example, on the question of franchises, would be a matter for judicial determination.

The cities that have availed themselves of the privilege to thus frame their own charters, as reported from the office of the Secretary of State at St. Paul—with the date of the filing of a copy of such several charters in that office as required by law—are as follows:

Barnesville	July 25, 1898.
Blue Earth	April 11, 1899.
St. Paul	May 28, 1900.
Moorhead.....	June 20, 1900.
Duluth	Sept. 24, 1900.
Fairmont	April 11, 1901.
Willmar	Dec. 1, 1901.
Little Falls	Feb. 8, 1902.
Ortonville	April 12, 1902.
Ely	March 21, 1903.
Austin	April 13, 1903.

There are in Minnesota fifty-three municipalities that, by the census of 1900, have a population of over 2,000; and of these, thirty-five have less than 5,000; eleven have more than 5,000 and less than 10,000, and only six have more than 10,000, namely: Minneapolis, St. Paul, Duluth, Winona, Stillwater and Mankato, the first three only being in any sense metropolitan cities. Of the municipalities before enumerated as having adopted charters, two, namely: Barnesville and Ortonville, have each less than 2,000 inhabitants.

The first charter that was framed in Duluth failed of adoption. Some of

the changes advocated were, perhaps, too radical, and its adoption was also opposed by a contingent of ward politicians, who were being legislated out of office. Possibly, also, the people may not, at that time, have awakened to the substantial import of the charter movement. The second attempt, however, proved successful, some modifications having been incorporated, though many very wholesome features were retained. The Duluth charter has been amended since its adoption, but not in any important particular.

The result in Minneapolis is well stated in the words of the kind reply of a Minneapolis official to my inquiry, herewith quoted, as follows: "Minneapolis is not operating under a 'home rule' charter. Our charter was adopted in 1872, and was subject to amendment until about 1891, when the State legislature passed an Act prohibiting the future amendment of our charter. At each of the three last municipal elections (1898, 1900 and 1902) a new charter was drafted by a Charter Commission and submitted to the voters for adoption, but failed in each instance to receive the necessary number of votes. Another charter has been drafted and will be submitted at the election to be held in November of this year. It is, I think, generally understood that the reason no new charter has been adopted is that the framers have made too many changes from our present charter, and have incorporated provisions which have antagonized certain interests."

California.—*Home Rule Charters.*⁵ The Constitution of 1879 granted to the cities of over 100,000 inhabitants charter framing privileges. This provision was amended in some details in 1887, but still applied to cities of over 100,000 inhabitants. In 1892 the provision was amended, and its provisions were made to apply to cities of 3,500 inhabitants and over. Such charters must be approved by the State Legislature before taking effect. The Legislature has no power to amend such a charter, but must accept or reject it as a whole.

The cities that have availed themselves of charter framing privileges are as follows:

CITIES WITH FREEHOLDERS' CHARTERS.

	Population.	Date of Adoption.
San Francisco	400,000	1899
Los Angeles	125,000	1889
Oakland	70,000	1889
Sacramento	30,000	1893
San Jose	22,000	1897
Stockton	18,000	1889
San Diego	18,000	1889
Berkeley	15,000	1895
Fresno	13,000	1901
Pasadena	10,000	1901
Vallejo	8,000	1897
Eureka	8,000	1895

⁵ Communication of William Denman, Esq., San Francisco.

CITIES WITH FREEHOLDERS' CHARTERS.

	Population.	Date of Adoption.
Santa Barbara.....	7,000	1899
Grass Valley	5,000	1893
Napa.....	5,000	1893
Watsonville	4,000	1903
Salinas.....	4,000	1903

Total—17. See statistics of the years given for copies of same.

No charters have ever been rejected by the Legislature—nor amendments thereto.

Charters rejected by Electors:

San Francisco.....	twice
Alameda.....	once
San Jose	once
Santa Cruz.....	once
Redlands.....	once
Santa Rosa	once—but re-

ceived a majority voting on the question—but not a majority of votes at the election.

Boards of Freeholders have been elected to frame charters in Santa Rosa and Riverside.

Agitation of the matter in Santa Clara, Redlands, San Bernardino. The only measure of general importance affecting municipal home rule in this State is a proposition to authorize municipalities to give to the holders of subordinate positions in the public service a tenure during good behavior.⁶ As the Constitution now stands, it provides that all offices in the State shall have either a tenure for four years or less, or that they shall hold at the pleasure of the appointing power. Our Courts have held that such subordinate positions as deputy health inspectors, police officers and clerks, are offices within the meaning of this section. Some of the Civil Service reformers seem to think it is necessary to guarantee to the holders of these subordinate positions a tenure which will last until they shall have been tried on definite charges and removed for cause. There are many of us who consider ourselves equally strong Civil Service men, who are opposed to this measure. As the Constitution now stands, the charters may provide that such position shall be filled only from an eligible list made up after examination by the Civil Service Board. It seems to us that once having taken away from the head of the office the power to remove at will, the spoil system has been destroyed. Heads of offices will not remove competent men when they have no opportunity to fill the vacancy with their personal friends and political followers. The difficulties attending the trial of persons charged with incompetency are so great, and the

⁶ In San Francisco we now have appointments from an accredited list, and a charter provision providing for a trial before removal. The latter provision is unconstitutional and the proposed amendment is to make it effective.

friends of the party under trial create such disturbances in the newspapers, that many heads of offices would hesitate to attempt removals in such a manner. As a matter of fact, in the School Department, where that system prevails, there never has been to my knowledge, and I think I am informed of all the cases, a removal for incompetency, and the result of the tenure during good behavior and for removal for cause in that department at least has been that the only persons that have been removed are those whose delinquencies are so flagrant that a trial is entirely unnecessary.

San Francisco.—*Charter.*⁷ The Charter of the City and County of San Francisco, which went into effect a little more than four years ago, has proven fairly satisfactory. It has been necessary, of course, to change a few details here and there in the light of experience so as to obtain the most effective administration. Seven amendments of this nature were adopted by the electors at a special election held December 4, 1902, and approved by the Legislature a few months later.

One of the amendments adopted a year ago removes all doubt as to the power of the municipal authorities to compel the joint use of tracks by street railway companies. Another, in order to induce good men to become candidates for office, increases the salary of the assessor from \$4,000 to \$8,000 per year, while a third authorizes an appropriation (not exceeding \$5,000) for pensioning certain "aged, indigent, and infirm exempt firemen." Two amendments relate to the improving, cleaning and sprinkling of streets. Application for street improvements, it is provided, must be made by owners of property assessable for costs or by the constituted authorities of the city. The taxpayers are thus rid of the activity of the contractor who was interested in furthering plans for street improvements. The Board of Public Works is given more power in making improvements where objection is met with. Formerly objection by the owners of two-thirds of the property assessable for costs constituted an absolute bar to further proceedings without beginning anew. Now such an objection shall cause a "delay" of six months after which the improvement may be made, and where but a small part of a street (not exceeding two blocks) remains unimproved, such an objection need not even cause delay. The provisions of the Charter are extended and made applicable to sidewalks also. But more important, the Charter is amended so as to permit the city to provide for cleaning and sprinkling of streets by contract or by direct labor. Till then it was limited to the contract system, which has been unsatisfactory because of the inability of the Board of Public Works to compel the contractors to fulfill their entire obligation to the city. Another amendment permits the city to borrow for the purchase of building sites as well as for the erection of buildings. And finally, Article XII, relating to the acquisition of public utilities, was amended so as to rid the city of expense incurred for unnecessary labor.

The Charter declares it "to be the purpose and intention of the people of the City and County that its public utilities shall be gradually acquired and ultimately owned by the City and County." To that end it was provided that

⁷ Communication of Prof. H. A. Millis, Leland Stanford Junior University.

"within one year from the date upon which this Charter shall go into effect, and at least every two years thereafter until the object expressed in this provision shall have been fully attained, the Supervisors must procure through the City Engineer plans and estimates of the actual cost of the original construction and completion by the City and County, of water works, gas works, electric light works, steam, water or electric power works, telephone lines, street railroads, and such other public utilities as the Supervisors or the people by petition to the Board may designate." This, if complied with, would involve much work for the City Engineer—most of it of little practical value. The section was amended so that now such plans and estimates shall be made only where public ownership is seriously considered.

The Charter declaration quoted above was accepted by the Committee of One Hundred and by the Board of Freeholders without a dissenting vote. Yet when a referendum vote was taken December 2, 1902, to decide whether or not to purchase and operate the Geary Street Car Line as a municipal enterprise, it failed to receive the necessary two-thirds majority (the vote being 15,120 "for" to 11,334 "against"). At present the attitude toward municipal ownership is not as favorable as it was four years ago.

While the Charter as a whole has proven fairly satisfactory it has come into conflict with the State Constitution at one vital point—in the matter of Civil Service. An attempt to secure amendments to the Constitution so as to give full effect to the Charter provisions relating to this point has proved futile.

The government of San Francisco is a consolidated government; that is, it is the government of the City and County of San Francisco. The Charter provides for merit rule in practically all the departments of the administration. But in *Crowley vs. Freud* (132 Cal. 440) the Supreme Court of the State (by a vote of four to three) held that the provisions were void in so far as the so-called county offices were concerned. These are the offices of the sheriff, clerk, recorder, coroner and assessor—some of the largest departments of the consolidated government.

Subdivision 4 of Sec. 8½ of Article XI of the State Constitution says: "Where a city and county government has been merged and consolidated into one municipal government, it shall be competent in any charter framed . . . to provide for the manner in which, the times at which, and the terms for which the several county officers shall be elected or appointed, for their compensation, and for the number of deputies that each shall have, and for the compensation payable to each of such deputies." The Supreme Court holds that this does not confer power to prescribe the conditions of appointment of deputies, but merely to fix their number and their compensation.

Civil Service.—Again the Charter (Sec. 12, Article XIII) provides for permanency of tenure. This, though it has not been adjudicated (see *Cahen vs. Wells*, 132 Cal. 447) is believed to conflict with that part of the Constitution which provides that the duration of any office, not fixed by this Constitution, shall not exceed four years.

To remedy these two defects and to give the merit system the general

application intended by those who drew up and ratified the Charter, two amendments to the Constitution were presented to the last Legislature. One was defeated in the Senate largely by the vote of San Francisco politicians (seven of nine Senators voting "No") and the other was withdrawn. Consequently the civil service provisions apply to only a part of the city government.

But even here all is not well. In San Francisco, as elsewhere, merit rule has had every possible obstacle placed in its way by those whose personal interests are sacrificed. In some instances, the courts have granted injunctions against the holding of examinations to establish lists of eligibles. Some of these have been granted with little reason, as where the holding of an examination was enjoined on the ground that it was non-competitive because those under a certain height would not be accepted as applicants. This particular restraining order was temporary, it is true, but in effect it was something more for many months have brought no final decision with reference to whether or not it should be made permanent. But in spite of legal obstacles progress was being made till recently and in 1902 most of the departments of the city government had come to look upon merit rule with favor and the others looked upon it as an evil which must be accepted as fixed. More recently, however, great inroads have been made with the civil service and its friends have cause to fear for its more immediate future.

The Charter makes it incumbent upon the Mayor to appoint as Civil Service Commissioners three men "known by him to be devoted to the principles of Civil Service Reform." Some of the recent appointees, to say the least, are not known to be devoted to such principles. One chairman of the Commission was guilty of "raising" the examination questions. But of such dishonesty there has been little. The chief difficulty comes from the fact that the administration is highly centralized and the city has been unfortunate in its selection of a Mayor. The three members of the present Commission are appointees of the present Mayor and their work, as does that of most of the departments of the city government, expresses his will. He has attempted, with much success, to build up a strong Union Labor Party, with himself in charge of its machine. In furthering this plan wherever possible he has used the spoils of office, evading the spirit or violating the letter of the Charter. This attitude has licensed his lieutenants in charge of departments to do the same thing. This very unsatisfactory administration of the Charter provisions explains the fact that at present some four hundred non-civil service appointees are on the city's pay-roll where civil service appointees are required by law.

Sixty day appointments may be made in exceptional cases with the consent of the Civil Service Commission. Many of these are made without any good cause and without the knowledge of the Civil Service Commission. The salary warrants are audited and paid contrary to law. Recently the Health Department was reorganized by abolishing places held by civil service men for the most part and creating new places with practically the same duties but bearing different names, which when created were filled without regard to merit principles. The pretext was economy; the reason was so-called political necessity, as the

discharged employees were informed. It is suggested that inasmuch as a part of this action was perhaps legal, the Civil Service classification should be on a broader basis so that evasion would not be possible by merely changing names or duties slightly. The Civil Service Commission has disapproved of some of the appointments mentioned but the new appointees are being retained. The auditor has audited their salary warrants because he had made a hundred and fifty appointments without regard to Charter provisions and audited the warrants of these employees, so that he dared not do otherwise. Any further payments, however, have been enjoined at the request of the Merchants' Association. Still more recently illegal appointments have been made in the Department of Elections and a reorganization of the Board of Public Works was prevented only by threatened injunction proceedings. Whether the Civil Service provisions of the Charter shall retain any meaning at all depends upon the outcome of the injunction proceedings now before the courts.

In the long run Civil Service principles will obtain in the government of San Francisco for there is no doubt that the great majority of the electors heartily favor them. But administrative centralization is making it possible for the time being for the will of the people to remain without effect. The situation is causing the first questionings and feelings of doubt to arise in the minds of the electors whether the policy of centralizing so much power in the hands of the Mayor is after all a good one.

Bond Issue.—Another matter of interest is the recently authorized bond issue. The electors of San Francisco by a referendum vote, September 29, 1903, authorized the issue and sale of \$17,771,000 of 3½ per cent, forty year bonds for the making of much-needed improvements; \$1,000,000 is for erecting a new city and county hospital; \$7,250,000 for constructing a new sewer system; \$3,595,000 for building new school houses and providing play grounds; \$1,621,000 for repairing and improving accepted streets; \$697,000 for building a new county jail and improving the Hall of Justice; \$1,647,000 for purchasing a site and erecting a library building thereon; \$741,000 for purchasing land for children's playgrounds; and \$1,220,000 for acquiring lands for various parks.

San Francisco has been very negligent in the matter of public improvements. Taken as a whole the expense for construction and repair of streets and school buildings regularly recurs and should have been met for the most part from the ordinary revenues. But the ordinary revenues have been small and insufficient. The tax rate for all city purposes except for paying interest and sinking fund charges and for maintaining parks, is limited to one per cent. or to one dollar on the hundred. As a consequence the tax rate is the lowest met with in the large cities of the country with which San Francisco may be properly compared. Little attention has been given to developing additional sources of revenue. Few loans have been made, the bonded debt being but \$250,000 or about one-half of one per cent. of the assessed valuation of property when the present bond issue was authorized. The city has followed a pennywise policy in spending for improvements and so has little in the way of public property.

The present City and County Hospital is said to be among the worst, if

not the worst, in the world. In 1901 the School Department had seven brick and sixty-four wooden buildings and rented twenty-seven more. At present many of these are in a very unsanitary condition and it may be necessary to close some of them at once. It is planned to build twenty-seven new school houses with the borrowed funds. The so-called sewer systems, covering but a part of the city, is a patchwork beginning nowhere and leading nowhere in particular. The contemplated system involves the construction of one hundred and twenty miles of new sewers connected with two intercepting sewers emptying into the Bay at a distance from the shore such as will render the city's waste harmless. But few of the streets are well paved. At present there are two jails, neither of which is good, making the administration both inefficient and expensive. They are to be replaced by one modern institution. The Public Library, the largest west of the Missouri River, is poorly housed in the City Hall. The city now has a park area of some 1,400 acres. The contemplated purchases will add greatly to this and will make possible the creation of parks readily accessible to those living in the older and more crowded sections of the city.

By incurring this debt of more than seventeen and three-quarters millions, San Francisco plans to provide herself with the ordinary public conveniences of a progressive city. Though the Charter declares it to be the purpose of the city to municipalize all the public utilities, at present she owns none. She is one of the few large cities of the United States still dependent upon a private corporation for her water supply. Possibly a municipal system will be established in the not distant future. If this is done it will add greatly to the city's debt.

Boston.—*Percentage of Voters.*⁸ The daily papers are filled with outcries against corruption in our great cities, whole columns being given over to the description of vice "which stalks abroad at noonday" until we are convinced that whatever there is of disrepute in the world must be within the cities. Magazines and publications of various sorts ascribe this state of affairs to a lack of civic patriotism and a loss of civic pride. Whatever this may mean certain it is that there is a most surprising indifference exhibited on the part of the voters measured by the number of ballots cast in the city elections of Boston. At the Boston municipal election of December 15, 1903, the actual vote was but 57.70 per cent. of the possible vote, the highest percentage of votes 69.91 being cast for the Mayor, the lowest 51.69 for Aldermen. Of the registered voters only 72.66 per cent. voted. The percentage of registered voters who voted at the municipal elections for five years preceding is as follows:

1899	1900	1901	1902	1903
79.94	70.80	79.94	60.03	72.66

The percentage of the actual to the possible vote for the same period:

1899	1900	1901	1902	1903
69.10	61.45	65.31	52.70	57.70

⁸Communication of Ward Wright Pierson, University of Pennsylvania.

This means that considerably less than two-thirds of the voters of Boston had sufficient interest in municipal affairs to spend the time to go to the polls.

Wisconsin and Milwaukee.—*The Liquor Question.*⁹ The Wisconsin statutes provide that "each town board, village board and common council" may license any proper person to sell liquor, the amount of the payment for such license (subject to the power of the local electors to increase the same within certain limits) to be \$100.00 in towns containing no city or village within their boundaries, provided there be a population of five hundred or more. In all cities, villages and "other towns" the license shall be \$200.00, subject to the same local power to increase it. No such license shall be granted to the owner or keeper of a house of prostitution. The electors of cities, villages and towns may hold special elections at a specified time to fix the amount of saloon licenses, provided no other question is submitted to the electors at such election. In towns, cities and villages where the license is generally fixed by statute at \$100.00, it may be increased by said electors to either \$250.00 or \$400.00; and in localities where the general statute license is \$200.00, it may be increased to either \$350.00 or \$500.00. The license has never been raised above the statutory amount in Milwaukee.

Before receiving his license every applicant is required to file a bond to the State in the sum of \$500.00 with proper sureties and approval, conditioned that the applicant shall keep an orderly house, prevent gambling, refuse to sell liquor to minors or intoxicated persons, and that he shall pay all damages provided for in Section 1650. Said section grants specific right of action to any person, suffering in property or means of support by reason of the sale of liquor to minors or intoxicated persons. Any unlicensed saloonkeeper who sells liquor to such persons is guilty of a misdemeanor, and punishable on conviction by a fine of not less than \$50.00 nor more than \$100.00 with costs; or by imprisonment for not less than three nor more than six months. A subsequent conviction involves both fine and imprisonment. In case any person, by reason of excessive drinking, wastes or lessens his estate, licensed liquor dealers may be forbidden, by his wife or specified officials or both, to sell liquor to such person for the space of one year.

There is a penalty of not less than \$5.00 nor more than \$50.00 for selling liquors to minors, and upon a written complaint, duly filed, by any resident of any town, village or city, that any licensed person therein keeps a disorderly house, permits gambling or sells liquor to minors without the written order of the parents or guardians of such minors, or sells liquor to intoxicated persons or habitual drunkards, the proper board may, upon a hearing, revoke the license. Section 1565a of the Statutes provides that "Whenever a number of the qualified electors of any town, village or city, equal to or more than 10 per centum of the number of votes cast therein for governor at the last general election, shall present to the clerk thereof a petition in writing, signed by them, praying that the electors thereof may have submitted to them the question, whether or not any person shall be licensed to deal or traffic in liquor, such clerk shall forthwith

⁹ Communication of John A. Butler, Esq., Milwaukee, Wis.

make an order providing that such question shall be so submitted on the first Tuesday of April next succeeding the date of such order."

This brief *resumé* of the State laws of Wisconsin gives a fair and accurate idea of their spirit. The degree of their enforcement naturally depends upon local public opinion. That they are not abused in any excessive degree is indicated by the absence of conspicuous public discussion in the newspapers or otherwise, and the general prosperity and good order which characterizes the State.

The City Charter of Milwaukee, the largest city of the State, with a population of 326,000, gives the Common Council authority to regulate all places where liquors are sold, and to regulate and grade the amount to be paid for licenses, in proportion to the amount dealt in or vended; to prescribe the duration of such licenses; and to restrain the sale of liquor by anyone not duly licensed by the Common Council, provided the amount charged for any license be not less than the minimum, nor more than the maximum required by the State laws. No license shall be transferrable, or be granted for less than six months. There are no specific hours for closing saloons in Milwaukee, but not more than a half dozen saloons are open all night. Saloons are open all day Sunday. All saloonkeepers are required to give bonds as required by Section 1549 of the Statutes. Minors are undoubtedly admitted to saloons, but they are not visited by them to a noticeable extent, and there is probably no American city of the same size which, on the whole, is so free from drunkenness and immorality as Milwaukee. A drunken man is rarely seen on the streets, and public safety is unusually great, owing to an admirable police force on a Civil Service basis, and to the orderly character of the population. The present city administration is, unfortunately, favorable to a "wide-open town," and the Common Council has granted some licenses against the energetic protests of the Chief of Police. There are a few saloonkeepers in the Council, fewer than formerly, when a half dozen or more played an unsavory role in politics; but, speaking generally, the "saloon in politics" is less conspicuous in Milwaukee than elsewhere. The best way to eliminate it, in my opinion, would be to require the election of aldermen at large, instead of from wards, enforce a high license, establish a proportion between the number of saloons and the population and give the power to grant or revoke licenses to the executive head of the city government rather than a Council Committee.

Colorado Springs.—*The Liquor Question.*¹⁰ The founders of Colorado Springs, desiring to make it in some sense a model city, provided at the beginning for the exclusion of liquor saloons. To this day, every warranty deed for the transfer of property contains a clause which stipulates "that intoxicating liquors shall never be manufactured, sold or otherwise disposed of, as a beverage, in any place of public resort in or upon the premises hereby granted, or any part thereof; and it is herein and hereby expressly reserved . . . that in case any of the above conditions concerning intoxicating liquors are broken by said . . .

¹⁰ Contributed by T. D. A. Cockerell, Esq.

then this deed shall become null and void, and all right, title and interest of, in and to the premises hereby conveyed shall revert," etc.

Although ordinary saloons are effectually excluded by the above provisions, it is not found that the liquor traffic is altogether abolished. The drug stores are licensed to sell liquor in quantities of not less than one quart, not to be consumed on the premises. As might be expected, they do not always keep the law, and as a matter of fact several of them have continually and flagrantly violated it. The city officials have been lax in this matter, and during the present year the clergy and others have felt it their duty to organize an anti-saloon league and take active measures to bring the culprits to book. As a result, several druggists have been tried and convicted, and the practices complained of have almost or quite ceased. The time for the removal of licenses was an opportune one for raising the whole question of the sale of liquor in the city, and enough pressure was brought to bear on the City Council to prevent the granting of new licenses to certain druggists who have been proved in the courts to have grossly violated the law. It is not supposed, however, that a permanent victory has been won; on the contrary, it is certain that things will return to their former condition whenever the interest created through the efforts of a comparatively small band of reformers shall have died out. The greatest obstacle in the way of those who stand for decency is the apathy of the nominally decent elements in the community.

Unfortunately, the drug stores are not the only offenders. Clubs, high and low, retail liquor to their members, and it is extremely difficult to reach them by any process of law. It is understood that the suppression of the drug store traffic has led to an increase in the number of clubs, one or more of which have an initiation fee of only twenty-five cents!

All things considered, there can be no doubt that Colorado Springs is greatly benefited by its liquor ordinances; but on the other hand continual vigilance is required to prevent their being rendered meaningless by evasions of the law.

District of Columbia.—*Report of the Commissioners.*¹¹ Of the large number of activities covered in the Annual Report of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, 1903, three are of particular interest—Finance, Education and Health.

Finances.—The report shows the total expenditure for the year, exclusive of those for the water department and expenditures on account of special and trust funds were \$9,088,554.67. This amount embraced \$9,051,980.09 appropriated for the fiscal year 1903 and prior years, and \$36,754.58 appropriated for the fiscal year 1904. During the year the indebtedness of the District for advances from the United States Treasury was reduced from \$1,759,238.34 to \$1,653,517.51. The total indebtedness June 30, 1903, was \$14,877,147.69.

The Commissioners repeat their recommendation that the Secretary of the Treasury be authorized to make advances from the United States funds to enable the District to meet its share of the cost of the extraordinary municipal improvements—filtration plant, sewage disposal system, the District Building

¹¹ Communication of Ward Wright Pierson, University of Pennsylvania.

of which the District of Columbia is required to pay half the cost—the advances to be repaid by the District in installments with interest.

Education.—The public schools of the District were never before so well housed and equipped. The total number of pupils enrolled for the year was 48,745, an increase of 0.64 per cent.; of these 32,987 were white and 15,758 were colored; 1,371 teachers were employed of whom 925 were white and 446 colored.

Death Rate.—During the calendar year 1902 the lowest death rate, 19.99 per thousand, for ten years with one exception (1897—19.79) was reached. The average for the decade was 21.22; for whites, 17.29; for colored persons, 29.13. The most potent factor in the high death rate of colored persons is the mortality of children under one year representing the death of between 400 and 450 out of every 1,000 colored children born.

Drainage.—During the year 16½ miles of sewers were constructed and eleven miles of new water mains laid. 1,448 additional buildings were connected with the public water system, making the present number 49,929. 255 new meters were installed, the present number being 1,748.

Pennsylvania.—*Report of the Executive Committee of the Civil Service Reform Association.*¹² The increased efficiency of the individual in the classified service of the United States, leads at once to the conclusion that the application of the principles of the merit system in the selection of clerks and other employees in all the municipalities and the State at large, would produce a far better force than is at present secured under the spoils system. With this in view the Civil Service Reform Association of Pennsylvania has set itself the task of educating public opinion to a degree that the establishment of the merit system will be demanded of the Legislature in no uncertain way.

Although the City Charter of Philadelphia provides that the appointment of "all officers, clerks and employees" with certain exceptions shall be made in pursuance of "rules and regulations" providing for the ascertainment of the comparative fitness of all applicants for appointment or promotion by a systematic, open and competitive examination of such applicants, hitherto the public has believed that no candidate—no matter how high his mark could secure an appointment unless he possessed great political influence. But through the efforts of the Executive Committee of the Association the veil which shrouded the administration of the Civil Service Bureau during the recent city administration has been lifted in a measure and representatives of the Association admitted to the municipal civil service examinations.

While much of the Twenty-third Annual Report is given over to a discussion of cases, it shows clearly the difficulties to be overcome and presents a method of correcting existing faults. The Committee of the Association on Legislation has prepared a draft of an "Act to Regulate and Improve the Civil Service of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania." The proposed bill provides for the appointment of a State Commissioner and the establishment of the "Competi-

¹² Communication of Ward Wright Pierson, University of Pennsylvania.

tive System" for selecting subordinate officials in the Service of the State and its principal cities.

FOREIGN CITIES.

Paris.—*Prostitution.*¹³ A very interesting report upon the question of prostitution has recently been presented to the Municipal Council of Paris, France, by a committee of that body. The report is in three sections: (1) A General Survey by M. Henri Turst. (2) Brothels and Houses of Assignment by M. Adrien Mithouard. (3) Regulation from an Administrative View-point by Henri Turst. The various reports give a good historical account of the efforts to regulate prostitution in France, the various methods suggested and used, the effect of police control, the results of medical inspection and detailed discussion of the present situation.

The Committee thinks that the existing plan is largely a failure. (1) There have been some bad mistakes made by the police in arresting reputable women. (2) The greater number of prostitutes are not enrolled. Hence (3) the medical examinations cannot accomplish their purpose since so many avoid them, nor are they sufficiently thorough. (4) There is a question whether police intervention is really legal.

It is suggested that certain changes are necessary for two reasons:

1. Prostitution is not a crime (*délit*), hence unless the public peace and order are offended the police should have nothing to do with prostitution.

2. Syphilis should not cause punishment any more than any other disease but like other communicable diseases should be safeguarded for the sake of the public health. To accomplish this it is recommended (1) Free consultations should be given in all hospitals and dispensaries subsidized by the city of Paris. (2) Substitution of treatment in general hospitals for that in the special institutions now existing.

The Committee believes that in suggesting these important reforms it "substitutes for the arbitrary régime which is too severe a system both legal and inspired by a desire to exercise pity in a field hitherto ruled by brutality and egoism." "We believe that we have proposed a scheme for safeguarding at the same time individual liberty and the rights of society."

To make certain that advantage will be taken of the treatment offered by hospitals the transmission of syphilis is to be made a criminal offense for both men and women. Such legislation now exists in Norway.

Although few in America will welcome the suggestion to make prostitution a matter to be dealt with solely on sanitary grounds the discussions and proposals are worthy of careful consideration. The chief papers are in the *Rapports*, Conseil Municipal de Paris, 1904, No. 3; and a supplementary discussion concerning foreign conditions chiefly in England and Italy in No. 7.

¹³ Communication of Dr. Carl Kelsey, University of Pennsylvania.

II. DEPARTMENT OF PHILANTHROPY, CHARITIES AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Training for Social Service.—The constant demand for trained workers in social service is an encouraging indication of the impression which organized charitable effort has made upon the public. This new profession has justified itself in action, and the most hopeful thing about it is that the workers who have made the administration of charities and corrections their profession, are themselves jealous and zealous for the uplifting of the professional standard, and the extension of special educational requirements. As a natural result, new plans are constantly being made to meet the demand. The Summer School of Philanthropy has been conducted by the New York Charity Organization Society during this summer. Henceforth there will be a winter session, from October to June, under the same auspices. Dr. E. T. Devine is to be the director, assisted by Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer and Alexander Johnson. Students of the school will also have the benefit of the Extension Courses to be given under the auspices of the Committee on Social Settlements and Allied Work of the Faculty of Columbia University, in co-operation with the Association of Neighborhood Workers. In addition, the school sessions will be arranged in such a manner as to allow qualified students to take advantage of such special courses at Columbia University, including Barnard and Teachers' Colleges as are most important for their training in the science and art of social service.

A training center for Social Workers was started last year, under the auspices of the University of Chicago, and the University has just announced the establishment of a College of Political and Social Science, which is to be under the general supervision of the faculty of the divinity school.

The School for Social Workers which has been established in Boston by the co-operation of Simmons College and Harvard University, will open in October, under the direction of Dr. Jeffrey R. Brackett, assisted by Miss Zilpha D. Smith. The topics which are included in the programme of instructions cover the whole field of "charity, corrections, neighborhood uplift, and kindred forms of social service;" but no mention is made of political economy, or political science or history, or psychology, all of which are required courses in the Chicago college. With these new and useful developments for the equipment of ministers and others, the theological seminaries will have to look to their laurels, unless they, too, are led to see the light.

Poor Relief in Indiana.—The March number of the *Indiana Bulletin*, which is published by the Board of State Charities, contains a valuable study of official outdoor relief in Indiana. The township trustees in the State are required by law to make full reports to the State Board of Charities. There are 1,015 of these townships and the total number of persons receiving aid in 1903 was 40,012. The report gives the comparisons by years. The Indiana Board was created in 1890. The value of poor relief which was given at that time was \$560,232, but

it was impossible to ascertain the number of persons who were aided. The first time nearly complete figures were obtained was for the year 1895—\$630,168. In 1896-97, 82,235 persons received aid. The total value of aid given was \$388,343.67, an average of \$4.72 to each person aided. Through the influence of the State Board of Charities outdoor relief has been systematized and pauperism checked, with the result that last year the number of persons aided was less than half the number in 1896-97. The cost of relief given in 1903 was \$245,745.82, being an average of \$6.14 per capita, which is perhaps an indication that the relief, while of a temporary nature, was more adequate in 1903 than in previous years.

It was popularly supposed that the decrease in the amount of relief given to the poor by the township trustees would result in a large increase in the population of the poor asylums. The result shows that there not only has not been an increase, but there has been a decrease, both actually and proportionately.

The population of the poor asylums August 31, 1890, was 3,264; on August 31, 1900, 3,096; a decrease of 168, or 5 per cent. Since 1900 there has been a further reduction of four per cent. in the population of the poor asylums, the number present on August 31, 1903, being 2,962, or 134 less than on the same day in 1900. The total reduction, therefore, from 1890 to the present date, is 9 per cent. Compare these figures with the population of the State. In 1890 this was 2,192,404; in 1900, 2,516,462; an increase of 14 per cent.

Six years ago a law was enacted, presumably under the inspiration of the State Board's reports, which placed upon each township the burden of its own poor relief. A study of the subsequent reports shows a very notable decrease in the number of high taxed levies and a corresponding increase in the number of townships which made no levies or a very low one. Under the compulsory education law of Indiana, children under 16 may be given assistance to enable them to attend school. Of the 40,012 persons who received aid in 1903, 17,848 were children under 16 years of age.

The Report of the Oregon State Conference of Charities and Corrections, which was held at Portland last March, takes high rank among documents of this character. Governor Chamberlin, in the course of a thoughtful address, commended the efforts to organize a Prisoners' Aid Society. This was accomplished during the Conference under the Presidency of Dr. E. P. Hill. Mr. James N. Strong delivered an inspiring address on the "March of Reform," in the course of which he made the following statement:

"The managements of our State Prisons and insane asylums have in the past years been strictly political. Now comes Governor Chamberlin, and in an announcement of no little importance, names a warden for the prison, and tells him in so many words that he will be held strictly responsible for its management, and that he, the Governor, to preserve his own freedom, as the representative of the people to criticise, will not even suggest the names of sub-employees. It is not a law nor is it binding on future Governors, but it is an announcement that responds to and helps healthy public opinion, and that in the end makes law that no future Governor, however politically venal he may be, will dare to disregard."

Among the resolutions passed by the Congress was one favoring separate boards of supervision and control of the State Correctional and Educational institutions, the membership of which was to include both men and women. The Conference instructed its chairman to appoint special committees to examine

and visit all of the State Institutions for criminals and dependents, and report their condition to the conference of 1904. The needs of the State for proper provision for defectives and the inadequacy of probation and truancy laws were set forth frankly.

The New York Fiscal Supervisor of State Charities has recently published his report for the year ending September 30, 1903. This department was created by the Legislature of 1902 at the instance of Governor Odell, for the avowed purpose of better regulating the finances of the State institutions and effecting economies. Mr. H. H. Bender, the supervisor, declares that his main endeavor has been to see that the wards of the State should be better clothed and better fed than hitherto without increasing the cost, and that the question of effecting a saving of money he has regarded of secondary importance. By systematizing the purchase of supplies, he claims that the average per capita cost has been reduced from \$168.97 to \$163.54, a saving of \$5.43, and calls attention to the fact that this had been done in a year when the prices of all kinds of provisions were unusually high, and the coal strike had raised the price of coal to unprecedented figures.

Prior to Mr. Bender's appointment, each of the 15 institutions which are now under his fiscal direction bought its own supplies separately, and while it was limited as to price to the lowest market quotations of its vicinity, it was clearly apparent that the supplies could be bought in the open market for all institutions at lower prices. This was on the theory, that as the total population of the institutions was over 8,000 any bidder could afford to place a lower figure on goods sufficient in quantity to supply this number, than upon supplies for a single institution with a population of from 200 to 500. Mr. Bender secured statistics showing the quantities of the leading staple articles in use in the different institutions, which were to serve as a basis of calculation for bidders, and a committee of six superintendents of institutions was appointed to select a list of articles which could profitably be purchased by joint contract. The committee appears to have done its work with great thoroughness and care, and decided that the following articles could be bought jointly: graham flour, hominy, macaroni, rice, coffee, evaporated apples, raisins, laundry starch, salt codfish, mackerel, tea, vinegar, baking powder, crackers, evaporated peaches, prunes, currants and butter.

They found that among the commodities that cannot profitably be purchased by joint contract are: flour, meats and milk.

Mr. Bender expects to effect a great saving in the cost of heating by equipping a number of institutions with coal-saving devices.

In Mr. Bender's report he is clear and frank, and thoroughly business like, although he may claim a little too much from a single year's experience.

The 31st Annual Session of the National Conference of Charities and Correction at Portland, Maine, which closed June 22, was characterized by a very large attendance of delegates from twenty-eight States and from Canada, by an unusually brilliant series of papers on a great variety of topics, and by an unprecedented local interest in all its proceedings. On several occasions the audience

numbered more than one thousand persons. It reflects great credit on the executive ability of the President for 1903-4, Dr. Jeffrey R. Brackett, formerly of Baltimore, but recently chosen to serve as head of the new training school at Boston for charity workers, organized by Harvard University and Simmons College for Women.

Among the names of those present are many which are well known to charity workers throughout the United States: among them may be mentioned Dr. Charles R. Henderson, of Chicago University; Prof. Graham Taylor, of Chicago Commons; Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, Chicago; Mr. Robert W. de Forest, of the New York Charity Organization Society; Mr. Homer Folks, ex-Commissioner of Charities of the city of New York; Mrs. Florence Kelley, of the Consumers' League; Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, of the New York Winter School of Philanthropy; Mrs. Vladimir Simkhovitch, of Greenwich House, New York; Mr. Robert Treat Paine, and Mr. Joseph Lee, of Boston; Dr. George F. Keene, of Howard, R. I.; the venerable Gen. Roeliff Brinkerhoff, of Ohio; Judge Benjamin B. Lindsey, of Denver; Mr. F. H. Nibecker, of Philadelphia; Mr. Hugh F. Fox, of New Jersey, and many others of equal ability and reputation. Dr. Charlton T. Lewis, of New York and New Jersey, was to have been there, but died a few weeks before the meeting. The paper he had prepared was read by Dr. F. H. Wines and heard with peculiar and tender interest by a large audience. Dr. Henderson described it as a voice from the grave, or rather, as a voice from heaven. Mr. F. B. Sanborn, of Concord, Mass., Dr. Wines, of New Jersey, and Rev. John L. Milligan, of Allegheny, were the only three in attendance who have been with the movement from the beginning; they were at the original Cincinnati Prison Congress of 1870, organized by Dr. E. C. Wines and presided over by Rutherford B. Hayes, then Governor of Ohio.

It may be said of this Conference that the papers and discussions were at once more scientific, more practical and more spiritual and idealistic than at any former session; and the published volume will form a noble addition to the literature of philanthropy. It may seem invidious to single out certain addresses for special praise, but it is difficult to refrain from naming the opening address by President Brackett, the annual conference sermon by Rev. Dr. Crothers, of Cambridge, Mass., Dr. Keene's lucid and profoundly scientific paper on "The Genesis of the Defective"—Mr. Sanborn remarked that we are more interested in his "Exodus;" the exquisite essay by Dr. Lewis on "The Principle of Probation," which is a literary gem as well as a masterpiece of philosophic insight; Mrs. Simkhovitch's elaborate and exhaustive account of "The Public School as a Social Center," admirably supplemented by Mr. Lee's analysis of boy nature, in his talk on "Playgrounds as a Part of the Public School System;" Mr. Nibecker's review of the reform school movement in America; Dr. Henderson's history of the origin and growth of the juvenile court; and the inspiring paper by Mr. Francis H. McLean, of Chicago, on "Ideals and Methods of Co-operation." It is proper to mention also the address on "The Education of the Blind," by Mr. Campbell of Boston, which was illustrated by stereopticon views, including some moving pictures. The most unsatisfactory session was that on State Super-

vision and Administration, because the papers read, in favor of State boards of control, consumed so much time as to leave very little for any opposing expression of opinion from the floor, and the proceedings therefore fail to represent the prevailing sense of the Conference, so that they will, when published, be misleading as guides to political action by the States.

The principal social events were a sail through Casco Bay and a reception to the ladies given by Mrs. George S. Hunt. To these must be added, as something quite out of the common, a dinner at Riverton, at which Sheriff Pennell was the host. It was attended by about thirty leading citizens—judges, lawyers, clergymen and men of affairs; and its purpose was to interest them in the prison question especially in that phase of it represented by probation and the juvenile court. Short addresses were made by Mr. Sanborn, on the history of prison reforms; by Mr. Warren F. Spalding, secretary of the Massachusetts Prison Association, on its present state of evolution; by Dr. Wines, on its outlook and promise; and by Mr. Lucius C. Storrs, of Michigan, on the need for a State board of charities in Maine.

The central thought of all the talk on the prison question (and much attention was paid it at Portland) was that the retributory or penal theory of the criminal law must sooner or later give way to that of the reformation of the convict; that reformation is an educational process; and that the criminal should be treated, as far as practicable, to quote Mr. Brockway's happy phrase, "in the open." Among the most remarkable utterances on this subject was the account given by Mrs. Kate G. Hayman, police matron at Louisville, Ky., of the work begun and planned for the future in the female department of the Louisville jail, which is to be made a social center for reformatory influence over women with criminal impulses and tendencies, in the nature of a social settlement; an entirely novel conception of the proper function of a prison, and a real advance step in practical criminology. It is also very noticeable that the conception of reformatory work with delinquent children as an educational process has taken deep hold on the officers of reform and industrial schools, so that at Portland they effected an independent organization, of which Mr. Nibecker was chosen President, to be known as the Educational Association, having special reference to backward, truant and criminally inclined youth of both sexes. This was the outcome of a meeting which convened two days in advance of the Conference, and was very helpful to all who took part in it. Another advance meeting was that of "visiting" nurses. There is a national organization of "trained" nurses, but that is a different affair. The visiting nurses will meet again next year as a section of the Conference. The session of 1905 will be at Portland, Oregon. Some objection to this choice was made by delegates from the Middle West, but it was the fifth time that Oregon had asked for the Conference, and the selection was finally assented to by a unanimous vote, in deference to the needs as well as the desire of the Pacific Coast.

The National Conference of Charities is the only organization in the world, so far as known, which claims and celebrates three distinct birthdays. The seed was planted at Madison, Wisconsin, in 1872, when the newly created State boards

of Wisconsin and Illinois first met for mutual exchange of experiences and views. They afterward invited the Michigan Board to meet with them in Chicago. Then, in 1874, all of these boards, numbering nine, then existing met, by invitation of Mr. Sanborn, with the Social Science Association, at New York. Finally, in 1879, at Chicago, the Conference held its first separate session and effected an independent organization. It was originally an almost purely official body, representing State governments. For a number of years it boasted that it was a body without a constitution, without rules, without principles, and without dues—the freest association upon earth, a forum for free discussion, and nothing more. In order that the members and officers of the State boards might better qualify themselves for the discharge of their legal responsibilities, the superintendents of State charitable and correctional institutions were encouraged to attend and to read papers on the care and treatment of the insane, the idiotic, the deaf, the blind, paupers, criminals, juvenile offenders and other special classes in which the States take a paternal interest. The question at the bottom of all the discussions was that of the duty of the State toward the victims of poverty, crime and misfortune. Light on this important question was also sought from officials of municipal and private charitable institutions of similar nature and aims.

The meeting at Louisville, in 1883, was the first at which a report was made by a standing committee on charity organizations in cities. This incident marked the beginning of a new departure in the policy of the Conference, the ultimate effect of which was not at first apparent. The non-official element in its composition was thus recognized, but it was not until the year 1895, at New Haven, that any one was elected to serve as its President, who was not a member or secretary of a State board. This honor belongs to Mr. Robert Treat Paine, of Boston, who was at the head of the Associated Charities of that city. With the rapid growth of the movement for the establishment of organized charity in cities and towns, there came a great and increasing influx of persons but slightly and incidentally interested in the original purpose of the Conference, whose main desire in attending its sessions was to profit by their mutual experience in a new but narrower field of philanthropic effort. Their numbers multiplied so fast that they were soon able to outvote the original membership and shape the organization to their own ends. They (and others) demanded the division of the body into sectional meetings, in order to give them more time for their own problems. A critical review of the annual reports of the committees on organization will show the great difference between the earlier and the later programmes adopted; the creation of sections on needy families in their homes, on the work of social settlements, on the proper division of work between public and private charity, on tenement house reform, on child labor and truancy, on neighborhood improvement, on fresh air summer outings, on boys' and girls' clubs, on recreation as a means of developing the child, on playgrounds as a part of the public school system, municipal lodging houses, the municipal regulation of newsboys and boot-blacks, and the like. Some of these questions relate, it is true, to the work of institutions and to subjects which demand legislative action; but their primary interest is for private charity workers, dealing with individuals, one by one and

studying local municipal conditions rather than the condition and needs of the entire body politic.

The departure to which reference has been made was natural and inevitable. The Conference exists in order to assist in the accomplishment of three leading aims: the increase of the sum of knowledge, philanthropic and sociological, by the accumulation of facts and the development by scientific methods of sound theories based on actual observation and experience; the education of its own membership; and the exertion of a healthy, invigorating influence upon public opinion, sentiment and action. The representatives of private charities, particularly of the associated charities, are as deeply interested in these as are public officials. They are equally in need of such education and stimulus as the Conference imparts. They are able to contribute to the aggregate result information and suggestions of the highest value, of a character and along lines, especially the line of preventive effort, not so readily or generally accessible to the representatives of institutions, public or private. This is a case where neither element in the organization can say to the other, "I have no need of thee."

It must be admitted, nevertheless, that in these remarks a possible line of cleavage is indicated, which marks a danger point. At Portland, the conviction was widely and strongly expressed that the pendulum has swung too far in one direction, and that a reaction is desirable, if not essential—a partial return to first principles. The suggestion that the founders of the Conference, if dissatisfied with its present drift, could secede and organize anew, though courteously made, provoked a certain mild resentment. The older, if not the wiser members, recalling the years when the younger men and women were still in their pinafores, if not in their cradles, declare that "the former times were better than these." They think that, if the programme has gained in breadth, it has lost in depth, in perspective and in true proportion. The larger part of the charitable and correctional work in this country is in the hands of the State, and the State collects the funds from all the people and serves all the people. The classes for which the State cares are typical. Compared with the superintendent of a State institution, who is a professional expert, the average private charity worker is an amateur. And the larger part of private charitable work is done in and by institutions, to whose aggregate population the total number of "cases" handled in any year by the associated charities bears an almost insignificant ratio. The pioneers in this movement accordingly lament the loss from the Conference of so many representatives of State boards, and so many experienced and skilled superintendents of institutions, driven away from it, as they think, because of the undue prominence given to subjects to which they sustain no definite and close relation. The municipal problem may enlist a larger number of workers, but the results attained do not affect so large a percentage of the population at large, including the rural with the civic; nor are they so far reaching in their bearing upon the future destiny of the nation.

Dr. Wines, in his speech of farewell, on the last evening, referring to this divergence of views, compared the Conference to a vessel rolling in mid-ocean, but staunch and powerful, always righting itself and sure to arrive in safety at

its destined but far distant port. He also called attention to the fact that, when the Conference was organized only a third of a century ago, there was not in the United States a charity organization society, a social settlement, a modern reformatory prison, juvenile courts, a probation officer, a training school for charity workers, nor even a chair of sociology in any institution of learning. The indeterminate sentence, graded prisons, and the parole were still in the State described in the words, "And Jacob dreamed a dream." All of our insane hospitals were constructed and conducted on the congregate plan. The movement for special training of the idiotic and feeble-minded was in its infancy, and little progress had been made in securing the adoption of the placing-out system in the care of destitute and neglected children. "The Conference," he said, "has not laid all these eggs, but it is the incubator in which they were hatched." He likened it to a power-house, supplying force to move the car of progress on its way.

And all this has been done by quiet and unostentatious methods. One principle has governed the body from the outset. It makes no deliverances upon any question whatever, preferring to be all-inclusive rather than dogmatic and dictatorial. It recommends no legislation. Every member says what he thinks; it is printed, and goes for whatever it may be worth. The consensus of opinion may be inferred from reading the debates. So firmly is this principle inwrought into the organization that the members refused to consent to an apparently harmless little resolution, in response to a communication from the United States Census office, authorizing the appointment of a committee of five to confer with the Director of the Census as to the statistical information which it is desired to procure touching the classes which the Conference seeks to benefit, and the amendments to the Census Act necessary to obtain it. The parliamentary squabble over this resolution was most amazing and absurd.

The President for the ensuing year is the Rev. Dr. Samuel G. Smith, of St. Paul, who has been President of the State Board of Charities, President of the Associated Charities, and is now Professor of Sociology in the State University of Minnesota. Mr. Joseph P. Byers, the former Secretary, now warden of the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, felt himself under obligations to resign that office, and is succeeded by Mr. Alexander Johnson, who has also had experience both in the service of the State board of Indiana and of the Chicago Bureau of Charities, as well as at the head of a large State institution. These gentlemen should be able, and no doubt will be able, to adjust and harmonize all pending disagreements, which at worst amount in fact to no more than a slight rift in the lute.

Women's Organizations.—"No person," says Mr. Samuelson, "who has followed the philanthropic movement of the last few years can have failed to be struck with the increase of woman's activity, both private and public, in furtherance of every laudable, social enterprise."¹ The essential feature in this activity, however, is the fact that it is no longer limited to assisting the

¹ Samuelson, James Ed.: "Civilization of Our Day," p. 105.

outcasts of society, nor does it exclusively take the form of church charity, although the church still remains the great receptacle of woman's munificence.

Women of the same or different social classes, seem to realize that they do have interests as well as duties in common and that associated effort is indispensable in order to secure the best results. Accordingly, organizations of all sorts and descriptions are formed so that there is hardly a woman who is not in some way connected with an association, either as contributor or recipient. Some of these organizations have already developed into strong bodies. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, for example, has a membership of 200,000. Its building in Chicago, where the headquarters are, cost \$1,200,000. It has its own publishing house which prepares and issues all kinds of publications for the advancement of the objects of the society. Its official paper, *The Union Signal*, has a subscription list of 80,000. "It has pushed through the legislatures of thirty-seven States and Territories the laws that now compel, in all public schools, instruction in the nature and effect of alcoholic drinks and narcotics."² Sixteen million children are said to have been brought under this instruction.³ In short, the organization comprises five distinct departments, "Preventive, Educational, Evangelistic, Social and Legal," all of them are strenuously attended to. Of late the society has also identified itself with the woman's suffrage movement and is rendering valiant service to the "cause."

The Young Women's Christian Association is another organization whose branches are spreading all over Christendom. The work this society does here may be seen in the following programme of the New York Women's Christian Association founded in 1872:⁴

- I. The Bible class.
- II. Free concerts, lectures, readings, etc.
- III. Free classes for instruction in writing, commercial arithmetic, book-keeping, business training, phonography, typewriting, retouching photo-negatives, photo-color, mechanical and free hand drawing, clay modeling, applied design, choir music and physical culture.
- IV. Free circulating library, reference library and reading rooms.
- V. Employment Bureau.
- VI. Needlework department, salesroom, order department, free classes in machine and hand sewing, classes in cutting and fitting.
- VII. Free board directory.

This work is typical of the various working girls' clubs, college settlements, industrial and educational unions, neighborhood guilds, and girls' friendly societies, all having for their object the "intellectual, industrial and social advancement" of the self-supporting woman. In most of them mutual aid rather than charity is emphasized. The humblest working woman who has caught the spirit of the new era despises "charity" and is sensitively suspicious of anything which has a taint of pauperism. The ladies of leisure and culture

² Meyers, p. 270.

³ Henderson, C. R.: "The Social Spirit in America," p. 188.

⁴ Meyers, p. 338.

must lay aside all airs of superiority, condescension, etc., if they wish to retain the privilege of assisting her in any way.

The sick and the criminal have not been neglected. In many cities of the Union women have established hospitals and managed them with "admirable wisdom." The Woman's Prison Association and Home, in New York, incorporated in 1854, carries on its work faithfully, the members being to the front in every effort for the prevention and the reform of criminal girls and women.

On the principle that "justice is better than charity" various other organizations have been founded. The Illinois Woman's Alliance, for instance, declares its object to be: (1) To agitate for the enforcement of all existing laws and ordinances that have been enacted for the protection of women and children, as the factory ordinances and the compulsory education laws. (2) To secure the enactment of such laws as shall be found necessary. (3) To investigate all business establishments and factories where women and children are employed and public institutions where women and children are maintained. (4) To procure the appointment of women as inspectors and as members of boards of education and to serve on boards of management of public institutions.⁵ This Alliance has already been instrumental in procuring the passage of a compulsory education law and has secured the appointment of women factory inspectors. The Consumer's League is a similar organization which is promising good service.

The Woman's Club Movement is another striking illustration of the co-operative spirit this age has awakened. The General Federation, in 1897, consisted of nearly five hundred individual clubs, uniting in one body about a million women representing nearly every State in the Union.⁶ Each constituent State Federation has adopted immediately on its formation, in 1894, "a special line of work, always educational in character and embracing education from the kindergarten to the university as represented in the State systems * * * public and traveling libraries, art interchanges, village and town improvement associations and constructive legislation."⁷

Women are taking an active part in all philanthropic organizations consisting both of men and women members who are aiming to increase the "greatest happiness of the greatest numbers" as well as the "perfection of the rational and spiritual nature of conscious personality."

The Jewish Chautauqua Association held its eighth annual session at Atlantic City, July 10-31. This is a national society, and its work is organized on the familiar lines of the parent association, consisting primarily in the establishment of local "circles," with prescribed courses of reading and study. The annual meeting is merely an incident, so that the small attendance of members is not regarded by its officers as a discouraging circumstance. It differs, however, from all similar organizations in having for its special aim the study of the Hebrew Scriptures, which our Jewish friends, who reject the New Testament, call "the

⁵ Meyers, p. 343.

⁶ Scribner's, 1897, pp. 486-7.

⁷ Croly, J. C.: "History of the Woman's Club Movement," p. ix.

Bible." The same complaint is made by Jews as by Christians of the growing indifference to the Bible, and the ignorance of its contents and spiritual significance manifested by young men and women, otherwise fairly intelligent and well informed. Accordingly, the official programme included courses of instruction, particularly designed for the benefit of clergymen and students of divinity in the Hebrew language, in the history of the Jewish Church and its ceremonial observances, and in archaeology and the higher criticism. Few persons are aware of the fact that Hebrew is not a dead but a living tongue, with a contemporary literature unknown to the world at large, including poetry and fiction. It is believed that more persons are to-day able to converse freely on all subjects of current interest in this language than at any period in history since the "diaspora" or the dispersion of the Jewish people after the capture of Palestine by the Assyrians, in the eighth century, B.C. An interesting feature of this meeting was the presence of a colored man, of unmixed negro blood, said to be an Episcopal clergyman, who has now been a member of the Association for three years in succession and has earned a certificate of his acquired ability, to read, write and speak Hebrew—something that he could not have learned in any Christian school in the United States.

The Jewish Chautauqua must not be confounded with the National Conference of Jewish Charities, which is a separate organization, made up originally of delegates from the Hebrew relief associations, but whose scope has been enlarged to include representatives of all Jewish charitable institutions, and which confines itself to the discussion of the problems of general and specialized philanthropy.

The administration of charity by the Jews is noted, the world over, for its wisdom, humanity and practical efficiency. They carry into it their deep religious feeling and their keen business sense. It is both shrewd and liberal, and it is characterized by strict conformity to economic law. No other people is so deeply imbued with the sentiment of moral responsibility to care for its own poor and unfortunate members at its own cost, without resort to outside aid. In this country, however, prior to the recent extraordinary influx of Jewish immigrants, fleeing from the tyranny and oppression of Russia, there was comparatively small demand for the expenditure of money in this particular direction. The burden which American Judaism has now to carry is enormous, in comparison to the size and wealth of the Jewish population, and it is rapidly increasing. It is therefore not surprising to find, upon the Chautauqua programme, a week devoted to work in the "department of applied philanthropy."

If the Jews do not ask American Christians for money, they show a remarkable and praiseworthy willingness to accept help in the form of counsel by experts in charities and correction not of their own religious faith; and the selection of topics and speakers, during the final week of the session, by the Rev. Dr. Henry Berkowitz, of Philadelphia, was admirable. Dr. Edward T. Devine, the able Secretary of the New York Charity Organization Society, spoke on the value of special professional training for all charity workers, as now given in three American cities, New York, Chicago and Boston. Mr. Robert W. de Forest, President of

the N. Y. C. O. S., and recently Tenement House Commissioner under Mayor Low's administration, discussed the housing problem which is of peculiar interest to religionists who furnish so large a percentage of the dwellers in the overcrowded tenement districts of the East Side. He was followed by Miss Emily W. Dinwiddie, of Philadelphia. Mr. Marcus M. Marks, of New York, a manufacturer and large employer of labor, who is a member of the Civic Federation, was announced to speak on the labor problem in its relation to applied philanthropy, but confined himself in fact to a general statement of the nature of the labor problem and of the work of the Federation. He favored the "open shop." Mr. Sargent, U. S. Commissioner of Immigration, at an evening session which was attended by a large audience, held the undivided attention of his hearers for two full hours by a very happy talk on the immigration laws and their administration. He detailed the recent changes for the better at Ellis Island and other immigration stations; deplored the necessity under the law for so many reshipments to Europe, and said that the remedy consists in inspection and detention at the port of departure; and dwelt at length on the necessity for a more general distribution of immigrants, especially in the West and South, which he thought would be promoted by the creation of a free governmental bureau of information to be connected with the Bureau of Immigration. Dr. Frederick H. Wines, for thirty years the Secretary of the Illinois State Board of Public Charities, and more recently the Assistant Director of the United States Census, explained the relation which subsists between charity and correction, taking as the text of his paper the declaration of a leading Jewish Rabbi, that the Hebrew word *tsadekah* is used to express the conception both of charity and of justice, since to Jewish thought charity which is not just is not charity, and justice which is not tempered by mercy is not justice. It is said that this was the first address ever delivered before a Jewish audience on the problems of crime and its treatment; and its inclusion in the programme was suggested by the fact that now, for the first time in our history as a nation, the number of Jewish offenders, adult and juvenile, in our prisons and reformatory institutions, is large enough to be appreciable. It is also said that few, if any, of them are natives; practically they are all recent importations. This is also true of Jewish paupers. Mr. Nibecker, Superintendent of the Pennsylvania Reform School, at Glen Mills, discussed the question of juvenile crime. Finally, Dr. Talcott Williams, of the *Philadelphia Press*, delivered a popular lecture on the oppression of the Jews and other subject races by the government of Russia.

All of the general sessions were held in the new assembly hall of the Royal Palace Hotel, which is the headquarters of the Association. It meets in Atlantic City year after year. The gathering is one marked by intense earnestness, and no provision is necessary for the mere amusement of the members. The "show" feature common to most Chautauqua assemblies is entirely eliminated.

III. NOTES ON COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES

Hawaiian Finances.—In view of various conflicting and erroneous reports as to the status of the territorial finances, the statement given herewith has been furnished from an authoritative source in the Islands.

The finances of the Territory of Hawaii are in better shape to-day than they have ever been since the date of annexation by the United States. Prior to that time these Islands were in receipt of an annual revenue approximating one and one-half million dollars, derived from Customs and Internal Revenue sources. Since annexation this money has gone annually into the Federal treasury. Notwithstanding the loss to the Territory of this large amount of revenue, equal to ten dollars per capita of Hawaii's population, the expenses of the Territory had been maintained upon their former basis, that is to say there had been no reduction in the number of employees or the current expenses in any single department of the government. In an effort to supply the deficiency in the revenue the system of direct taxation was largely increased, but this was insufficient to meet the requirements and each financial year found greater deficiencies. The shortage of one year was made up by drawing upon the income for the subsequent year. At the beginning of 1904, conditions were such that Governor Carter, who had only been in office for five weeks, after a close examination of the Territory's condition, deemed it necessary to call an extra session of the Legislature. This session lasted only twelve days. Most effective work was accomplished in reducing the amount of expenditure which had been authorized by the previous Legislature and curtailing the disbursements which had been authorized on salary account. The result is that, beginning with the first day of July, 1904, appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, will be slightly under two million dollars, while a conservative estimate places the Territory's income for the same period at rather more than two and one-quarter million dollars. Upon such a working basis the Territory will soon be in a position to "make good" advances that have been furnished for the previous years' disbursements and will again be running on an absolutely cash basis.

It is true that the affairs of the Territory were in an unsatisfactory condition, but they have been satisfactorily adjusted. As the Territory is unable under its organic law to borrow money to cover any deficit in its income, it must pay as it goes. Bonds can only be issued for public improvements, with the approval of the President, the amount being limited by the Organic Act. At the present time the total bonded indebtedness of the Territory does not exceed two and one-half per cent. of the taxable property. By next November every item of current indebtedness will have been paid. The outlook for economic administration is decidedly more favorable than it was at the close of 1903.

The Territory's difficulty arose mainly through the habit into which the Legislature fell of passing large appropriations without regard to the public income, the previous administration not having placed any check upon them

or drawn the attention of the Legislators to the fact that they were exceeding the income.

Instances of the changes in revenue of the Territory can be shown by the fact that the customs receipts from these Islands in 1899 amounted to almost \$1,300,000 and from the Post Office to \$120,000—besides about \$200,000 collected through the department of Public Works. These sums have since gone annually to the Federal departments in Washington. The receipts of the tax office from property taxes have increased from \$1,072,000 in 1899 to \$1,678,000 in 1903. This shows a gain of \$600,000—as compared with the loss of \$1,600,000—taken by the Federal Government. Revenues from the Water Works and Public Lands Offices also show some little gain during the same period, but it has been impossible to make up what the Federal Government has taken and no effort was made to curtail the expenditures. At the present time, however, the outlook is infinitely more satisfactory than it has been since annexation and under the present economic administration Hawaii should soon be working upon a cash basis, with only the small bonded indebtedness which has been incurred for public improvements of a permanent nature.

Filipino Students in the United States.—The second quarterly report of Prof. Wm. Alex. Sutherland in charge of the Filipino students in the United States has been received by the Bureau of Insular Affairs, War Department; from it the following facts have been taken:

Upon their arrival in San Francisco in November, 1903, it was thought best to have the students remain in Southern California during their first winter in the United States, as they had never experienced any other than a tropical climate, and as their medical attendance for the first six months has cost on an average less than \$2.50 per student, the wisdom of the plan has been proven.

The students have grown both in weight and height and the results obtained in bearing and general appearance are very noticeable. The people of Southern California have received the students into their homes and they have also participated in the social life of the towns where they have been attending school.

Many of the young men have taken part in the school entertainments using the English language, and a number have addressed teacher's institutes. They have also done well in school work as may be seen from a report made by Professor Gates, President of Pomona College where eight Filipinos had been located. He states, "I have made special inquiry at our faculty meeting about your boys. I find that they are without exception doing exceedingly well. It would be hard to the extent of practical impossibility to pick out any haphazard bunch of eight students of whom the same could be said.

"The only weak spot was in the English work, which of course was nothing against the boys. It was simply something that would happen to me if I were in a Spanish school. It is the one place where the language handicap specially shows, but in that their work is faithful and efficient."

The present plan is to collect the students at some suitable place after the school year is over and give them a special summer course along the lines

where special work is needed, and then after a short visit to the St. Louis Fair, to place them in schools and colleges in the Central States.

The students, as far as they have expressed themselves, desire to pursue a variety of callings upon their return to their island homes. Twenty-five per cent. of them expect to become teachers, some desire to become civil engineers, others to pursue a commercial course, a few wish to study medicine, two are eager to enter the Naval Academy at Annapolis, and then find employment in the coastwise service of the Philippines. One of these is reported to converse in Spanish, English, Japanese, French, Tagalo and Visayan languages. A few expect to study scientific agriculture and they will probably be placed in some Southern Agricultural College, in order to secure practical training in the cultivation of rice, sugar and cotton as well as acquaintance with modern agricultural instruments.

If the present high standard of students is maintained and the original plan of sending a hundred students each year to the United States for a four years' course, is continued, their influence should before long be felt in the islands and should become a powerful factor in the development of their native land.

How Yellow Fever May Be Introduced Into The Philippines.—Dr. Richard P. Strong, Director of the Biological Laboratory at Manila, P. I., has a paper in the fourth annual report of the Philippine Commission, about to be published by the Bureau of Insular Affairs, showing how the Panama Canal may become a factor in introducing yellow fever into our Eastern possessions and the entire Orient. He shows that the Hawaiian Islands, Guam, and the Philippines, will be exposed to the importation of cases of yellow fever or of infected *Stegomyia fasciata* (the mosquito which carries the fever), unless the disease can be banished from Panama.

The paper states: "One need glance only for a moment at the map and then at the statistics of cases of yellow fever in numerous seaport towns during the year 1902 to be again impressed by the relationship existing between commerce and yellow fever. During the past year among the seaport towns of the eastern coast of the Western Continent, Port Limon, Progress, Vera Cruz, Tuxpan, Tampico, Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, Manao, Pernambuco, Para and Paramaribo and among those on the western coast, Panama and Guayaquil have all been frequent sufferers from this scourge. It does not seem improbable, therefore, that unless extreme precautions are taken against vessels passing from these regions and bound for ports in the Far East, infected ships, and even actual cases of yellow fever will be conveyed from the above-mentioned cities to Honolulu, or even directly to Guam, Hongkong and the Philippine Islands.

"Mail steamers from Panama should reach Honolulu in thirteen or fourteen days, and the Philippine Islands by a direct route in about twenty-eight days. Vessels, even though leaving Panama with no cases of yellow fever on board, and reaching Honolulu without a history of sickness en route, yet might obviously be most serious agents of infection to the Hawaiian Islands, for if *Stegomyia*

which had recently bitten persons suffering with yellow fever were taken on board the ship at Panama, they would not be capable of conveying the disease until about twelve days later, which at the earliest would be one or two days before the arrival of the ship at Honolulu. * * * It has been shown that the *Stegomyia* is capable of conveying the germs at least as late as fifty-one days after biting a person suffering with the disease. * * * Should a case of yellow fever (or even infected *Stegomyia*) reach Manila, without quarantine, the chances would seem to be in favor of its not falling upon barren soil. Humidity and heat, which seem to be the ideal coefficients for the preservation of the disease, are always present in Philippine ports. The *Stegomyia fasciata* is found abundantly throughout these islands, and one may at any time readily obtain in a few minutes a number from any of the dwelling houses in Manila. * * * However, the matter has not altogether a dark side. For example, Wood and Gorgas, stimulated by the work of the late Walter Reed, have recently shown us that it is possible by proper sanitation to entirely stamp out yellow fever from its natural endemic home, Havana. * * * Why then should not the same be accomplished along the entire route of the Panama Canal?"

Trade in the Philippines.—The statement of Philippine commerce for the calendar year 1903, made public through the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department, gives complete statistics for the past five years in graphic and tabular form according to the leading articles of commerce, together with a brief review of the trade, and reference to recent measures that may have a bearing on the future industrial development of the islands. By comparison the general result indicates a steady advance in the volume of business transacted.

In 1902 the foreign commerce of the archipelago amounted to \$62,014,070 as compared with \$66,203,130 in 1903, imports aggregated \$33,342,166 and \$33,811,384, respectively, and exports \$28,671,904 as against \$32,396,746 in 1903, which figures are exclusive of gold and silver and government supplies. Ten years ago, 1893, the total value of imports and exports was but \$38,073,725, the increase in the decade being 75 per cent.

The effect of adverse agricultural conditions is shown from the fact that the item of food supplies during the past year has been considerably larger than manufactured articles, in the distribution by classes being valued at seventeen million dollars or more than one-half of the total imports, a material increase over 1902 when the proportion approximated two-fifths.

With the exception of those producing rice all the principal countries, United States, United Kingdom, Spain and Germany show a falling off in imports, the rice purchases from Asiatic territory more than making up the loss in trade with Europe and the United States.

Under exports the figures on hemp and copra, products that are in great demand and require but little attention in cultivation, show a continuance of the improvement characteristic of this branch of the island's commerce. Hemp shipments reached \$22,000,000, or two-thirds of the outward trade in 1903, an increase of \$3,000,000 over 1902 returns, considerably more than one-

half being destined for markets in the United States. An increase of more than a million dollars is noticed in the copra trade, 1903 shipments aggregating \$3,800,000 in value, nearly all of which went to France. Sugar to the amount of \$3,000,000, and tobacco \$1,900,000, fell slightly below the exports during 1902. In the early months of 1903 several fair-sized sugar cargoes left Philippine ports for the United States, but the returns subsequent to June indicate a complete cessation of trade doubtless in the hope that favorable action would be taken on the effort for tariff reduction.

The trade between the United States and the Philippines, incoming and outgoing, for 1903, was \$16,908,526, or about 25 per cent. of the latter's total trade. Imports from the United States for the past year were \$3,387,100 against \$4,153,174 in 1902, a slight falling off in value. The exports to the United States for 1903 were \$13,071,426 against \$11,475,948 for 1902, an increase of \$1,595,478. The balance in favor of the Islands in 1903 was \$9,234,326.

Notwithstanding a net loss over 1902 in the value of shipments from this country the amount of merchandise received at Philippine ports in American bottoms doubled in value. Philippine products exported to the United States show even greater improvement in the carrying trade, but while the increase is noticeable in each case it will be observed that eighty-eight per cent. of the cargoes either way is still confined to foreign bottoms. Of the \$4,118,660 worth of imports (coin shipments included) coming from the United States last year sixty per cent. was brought in British vessels, a million dollars less in value than was shown in 1902 when all but one-fifth of our shipments entered the Islands under that flag. Nearly three-fourths of the \$13,000,000 return trade reached United States ports through the same channel.

Disposition of Friar Lands.—The Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department has just received a copy of an enactment of the Philippine Commission, providing for the administration and temporary leasing and sale of certain haciendas and parcels of land, commonly known as "Friar Lands," for the purchase of which the Government of the Philippine Islands recently contracted.

This enactment provides that a careful examination is first to be made to ascertain the sufficiency and soundness of the titles to the land, and the Chief Engineer of the Philippine Government is directed to have careful surveys made of all haciendas and tracts of land, in order to determine with accuracy and certainty the amount of land in each hacienda. After the determination of these points payment is to be made for the lands, whereupon they are to be placed under the immediate control and direction of the Bureau of Public Lands of the Philippine Islands, the Chief of which, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior of the Philippines, is to administer the land. He is enjoined by the enactment to ascertain the names and residences of the actual bona fide settlers and occupants in possession of these lands, or any portion of them, together with the extent of their holdings, and the character and value thereof; and to ascertain whether or not said occupants desire to purchase or lease their holdings. In case the present occupant does not desire

to purchase, but does desire to lease, he may do so for a term not longer than three years, at a reasonable rental, to be fixed by the Chief of the Land Bureau.

If the present settler or occupant of any portion of these Friar Lands desires to purchase, he is entitled to do so at the actual cost to the Government, and shall be allowed ten years from the date of purchase, within which to pay for the same in equal annual installments if he so desires; all deferred payments to pay interest at the rate of four per cent. per annum.

The present settler or occupant is to be given a refusal either to buy or lease, as above set forth, but all unoccupied lands, or lands which the present occupants do not desire to lease or buy, the Chief of the Bureau may lease, or offer for sale to other parties, as may seem for the best interests of the Government.

The Act also provides that all canals, reservoirs and other irrigation works, common to all the properties, shall remain under the exclusive control of the Government of the Philippine Islands, and the Government reserves, as a part of the contract of sale, the right to levy an equitable contribution or tax for the maintenance of such irrigation works, based upon the amount of benefits received.

The Philippine Government is authorized to designate any of these lands as non-alienable, if it so desires, and reserve the same for public use.

All money derived from the leasing or sale of these lands is to be promptly deposited in the Insular Treasury, to be held separate and apart from general Insular funds, and is to constitute a trust fund for the payment of the principal and interest of the bond issued by the Philippine Government for the purpose of raising money to pay the purchase price of these Friar Lands.

Philippine "Official Gazette."—The annual report of the Philippine Commission for 1903, which has lately been published, contains the report of the editor of the *Official Gazette*, a publication printed in English and Spanish, and issued weekly in Manila, under the general direction of the Secretary of Public Instruction of the Philippine Islands.

This publication was authorized by an Act of the Philippine Commission, approved September 2, 1902, and the first number is dated September 10, 1902. It contains the acts of the Commission, executive orders, important decisions of the Supreme Court, the Court of Custom Appeals and the Court of Land Registration and other material designated for publication by the Secretary of Public Instruction or which may be recommended by the editor and approved by the Secretary.

A copy of each number of the *Official Gazette* is deposited with the Civil Governor, the Secretaries of the several executive departments, the members of the Philippine Commission and several other high officials of the Government in the Philippines and is sent to the President of the United States, each member of his Cabinet and other officials resident in this country. Each provincial and municipal government is required to subscribe for one copy of the *Gazette* which is safely kept with the public records of the provinces or municipalities for reference.

In this way the prominent officials of the Philippine Government as well as those of the provinces and municipalities are kept in close touch with the laws and other matters affecting governmental affairs.

Philippine Forests and Forest Reserves.—Among the recent enactments of the Philippine Commission is one to regulate the use of the public forests and forest reserves in the Philippine Islands, the short title of which is "The Forest Act."

The public forests are made to include all unreserved public lands covered with trees of whatever age and are placed under the jurisdiction of the Chief of the Bureau of Forestry, his actions with reference thereto being subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior of the Philippine Islands. The Civil Governor upon the recommendation of the Chief of the Bureau of Forestry is empowered to set apart forest reserves from the public lands and is required to declare by proclamation the establishment of such reserves and their boundaries.

After the reserves have been set apart they cannot be entered, sold or otherwise disposed of, but must remain as such for forest use until the Civil Governor may see fit to revoke his proclamation at which time the reserve covered thereby becomes a part of the public lands.

The Chief of the Bureau of Forestry prescribes such regulations as may be necessary for the protection, management, reproduction, occupancy and use of the public forests and forest reserves in such manner as to insure for the future a continued supply of valuable timber and other products. For the purposes of the Act the several provinces in the Islands are divided into two classes and the various native trees into four groups.

The Chief of the Bureau of Forestry is given authority to issue licenses for the cutting, collection and removal of timber, firewood, gums, resins and other forest products from the public forests and forest reserves, each of the licenses specifying in detail the right to which it entitles the holder and providing for the selection of the timber before cutting. No officer or employee of the Bureau of Forestry is permitted to have any pecuniary interest in any forest or in any business in lumber or other forest products.

The Chief of the Bureau of Forestry estimates that there are about 40,000,000 acres of forest lands on the public domain of the Islands.